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Reconstruction Under Fire

Case Studies and Further
Analysis of Civil Requirements

A COMPANION VOLUME TO
*RECONSTRUCTION UNDER FIRE: UNIFYING CIVIL AND
MILITARY COUNTERINSURGENCY*

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Preface

Enhancing the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of government is a critical step toward defeating an insurgency. Relief, reconstruction, and development activities help achieve this goal. However, implementing these activities in an insurgency environment requires that special attention be paid to the relationships between the conflict drivers, the security environment, and these activities.

With a grant from the Smith Richardson Foundation, matched by support from the U.S. Department of Defense, a RAND team with extensive security and development expertise has examined means of improving decisionmaking and security with regard to civil counterinsurgency (COIN). This monograph is a companion volume to *Reconstruction Under Fire: Unifying Civil and Military Counterinsurgency*, which focused on methods for improving the security dimension of undertaking the civil aspects of counterinsurgency.[1]

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[1] See Gompert et al., 2009.

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Summary

This monograph is a companion volume to *Reconstruction Under Fire: Unifying Civil and Military Counterinsurgency*,[2] a RAND monograph published in 2009 that focused on methods for improving the security dimensions of undertaking the civil aspects of counterinsurgency (COIN). That monograph summarized as succinctly as possible the material presented here to provide a readable presentation of concepts that could lead to a better integration of security and "civil COIN" measures. However, the details of how to do the civil COIN tasks discussed in that volume are important. This volume presents those details.

Successful counterinsurgency operations require the integration of security and civil COIN to create conditions in which the population can choose between the government and the insurgent, to eliminate the key grievances that gave rise to the insurgency in the first place, and to present the population with choices that are more attractive than what the insurgents can offer. To this end, it is first necessary to understand the history and context of the country and conflict, conduct good analysis of the underlying issues, and design approaches to win. The goal of both the military and civil effort should be to increase the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of the indigenous government, as this is central to success in counterinsurgency.

In the prior volume, we presented the overall framework and focused on integrating civil and military COIN to achieve success.

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2   See Gompert et al., 2009.

However, because we wanted to keep that volume short enough for practitioners and policymakers to read, we left out the details of the civil analysis and presented only an abbreviated version of the case studies that motivated much of the work. Here, we present the civil methodology in some detail, as well as the case studies.

The analytic framework for identifying options for civil COIN measures is a two-stage process (see Figure S.1).

The first stage is to assess the operating environment, which will result in identifying civil COIN focus areas. The operating environment assessment includes analysis of the area's background, context, and threat. The background component includes general history, regional issues, internal geography, and culture. The context analysis examines key social, economic, and political indicators. The threat analysis addresses the organization of the insurgency; the insurgents' ends, ways, and means; sources of popular support or tolerance; and related threats (e.g., criminal networks). A clear understanding of the

Figure S.1
Complete Civil COIN Analytic Framework

Process	**Assess operating environment**	**Assess focus area**
	• Background • Context • Threat	• Population status and expectations • Human capacity • Physical infrastructure • Material and financial resources • Governance processes and institutions
Outcome	**Civil COIN focus area**	**Civil COIN measure**

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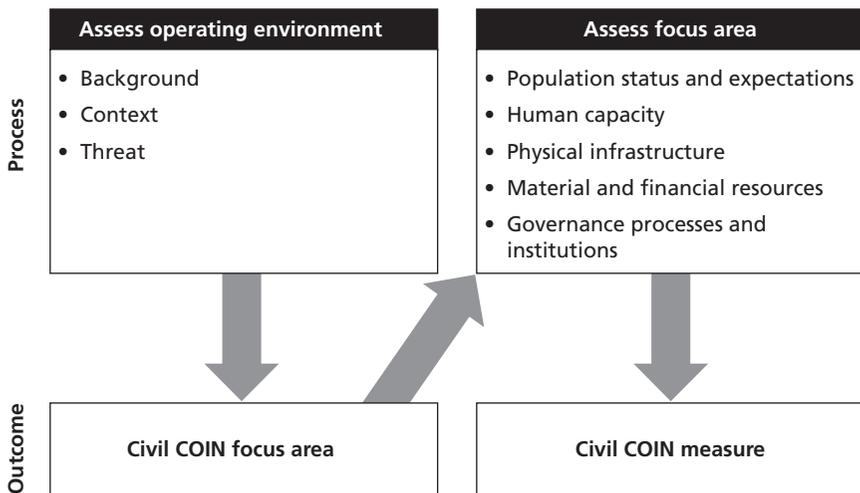
operating environment provides greater understanding of the conflict drivers and opportunities, which indicate the key focus areas for counterinsurgents.

For a given identified focus area, the second stage of the process is to identify key effects that must be achieved to eliminate grievances among the population or to deny insurgents opportunities to succeed, as well as the programs needed do this. We call these key effects "focus areas." Examples of focus areas might include land reform (in Nord-Kivu province, Democratic Republic of the Congo), access to justice (in Al Anbar province, Iraq), or the development of alternative livelihoods to poppy cultivation (in Nangarhar province, Afghanistan). Identifying and analyzing focus areas yields options for civil COIN measures. Assessing a focus area entails first identifying the population's status and expectations. The difference between the population's current status and its expectations can be considered the "need gap" that counterinsurgents should address. In determining how to address this gap, counterinsurgents should understand the human capacity, physical infrastructure, material and financial resources, and the governance processes and institutions to design activities that are both effective and feasible. At each stage, the assessment should take into consideration activities being undertaken by other actors to prevent duplication of efforts and to maximize activity effectiveness.

After assessing the needs in the focus area, specific civil COIN measures can be developed. Each civil COIN measure consists of three key components: (1) type of activity, (2) implementation approach, and (3) implementer (see Table S.1). The eight types of activities, four implementation approaches, and four implementers present their own development benefits and challenges, opportunities to unite or divide the population, and security benefits and challenges. These various factors—as well as the feasibility of each—must be assessed to identify a civil COIN approach that builds the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of governance.

Table S.1
Key Components of Civil COIN Measures

Type of Activity	Implementation Approach	Implementer
Build or repair nodes	Distributed	Indigenous civil
Build or repair connectors		
Deliver goods	Mobile	Foreign civil
Deliver services		
Train	Central	Indigenous military
Mentor		
Provide technical assistance	Distance	Foreign military
Hold meetings		

This structure allows us to examine and helps us answer the following questions:[3]

- How important is civil COIN?
- What areas of civil COIN are priorities?
- How, in practical terms, should civil COIN be conducted?

The RAND team selected the province as the unit of analysis, as a point of reference to compare the three case studies and to highlight the potential nuances that can exist between villages and sub-geographic areas within the same province.[4] In all three of our cases, the operating environment assessment highlighted a myriad of potential focus areas for civil COIN. For the purposes of demonstrating the application of the analytic framework, we selected three illustrative focus areas of particular importance. Each relates to a motivation for the insurgency or an opportunity for the insurgents or counterinsur-

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[3] The trade-offs between security for civil COIN and for other needed efforts, such as direct action against insurgents and training of indigenous security forces, were addressed in Gompert et al., 2009.

[4] This process can be applied to essentially any unit of analysis, though the unit of analysis that makes sense in a given conflict zone will be dictated by the facts on the ground.

gents. Success in these focus areas would undermine the insurgents' ability to conduct successful operations that target the government's effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach.

In Nangarhar, the first focus area is road construction. Constructing asphalt roads in Shinwari and Khogiani tribal areas will enable the government to extend its reach more effectively into these areas year-round. The second and third focus areas address the single largest challenge to government authority in Nangarhar: the poppy industry. Two focus areas, taken from a long list of possibilities to provide alternative livelihoods, are an industrial park for processing farm and nonfarm goods and initiatives to increase high-value, labor-intensive crops that have a basic market in Afghanistan and the neighboring region and that would, in the long run, preclude poppy cultivation.

In Nord-Kivu, the selected focus areas are inherently governmental functions that have been co-opted by the insurgents or areas in which future progress is at risk of being targeted or co-opted by Laurent Nkunda's forces.[5] The first focus area is land arbitration, because land tenure has been one of the principal causes of the conflict and is integrally linked with government legitimacy. The second focus area is primary education, because the large numbers of young men who are not in school provide a pool of potential recruits for the insurgency. Third, the lack of adequate roads enables the insurgents to control the population and extort commercial interests and hinders the ability of the government to fight the insurgents and provide public services.

In Al Anbar, the improved security situation and the operating environment assessment indicate that the province is ready for substantive development initiatives with a higher potential for success than those undertaken previously. The first focus area is access to justice. Increased confidence in the rule of law and judicial procedures would reduce opportunities for the insurgents to sway the population into supporting illegal activities. Access to justice for Sunnis would also

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[5] This case study was completed in 2008 and has not been updated to reflect Nkunda's capture in early 2009. The case study is meant to illustrate the process; the fact that Nkunda has been captured does not affect the analysis.

build the popular perception of the legitimacy and effectiveness of the government. The second focus area, supporting existing underutilized factories and plants, stems from the economic situation in Al Anbar, which highlights the need for a long-term employment strategy to generate the income necessary for people to support their families other than by working with criminal opportunists and insurgent groups. Third, the provision of essential services, specifically electricity and the associated critical infrastructure required to operate large industrial factories and plants (that provide long-term employment opportunities), strengthens efforts in the second focus area while simultaneously building the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of the Iraqi government.

In each case, the specific components of these related civil COIN measures vary; however, the general finding is that these provinces possess adequate indigenous capacity to implement a majority of the activities, particularly with some level of technical assistance or training provided by foreign civil actors.

It is worth noting that civil COIN efforts that are not based on sound analysis of the underlying causes of the insurgency, or that do not aim at increasing the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of governance, are unlikely to contribute significantly to success. As such, to implement the suggestions put forth in our previous volume, an approach like the one outlined in Chapter Two is needed.

Acknowledgments

Abbreviations

AQI	Al Qaeda in Iraq
CNDP	Congrès National pour la Défense du Peuple [National Congress for the Defense of the People]
COIN	counterinsurgency
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ETM	Essential Task Matrix
FARDC	Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo [Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo]
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
HIG	Hezb-e-Islami Gulbuddin
HIK	Hezb-e-Islami Khales
ICONOPS	integrated concepts of operations
IDP	internally displaced person
ISI	Islamic State of Iraq
LCP	Local Capacity for Peace
MONUC	United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

NGO	nongovernmental organization
RCD	Rally for Congolese Democracy
SOI	Sons of Iraq
TBMF	Tora Bora Military Front
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development
VTC	video teleconferencing

Introduction

This monograph is a companion volume to *Reconstruction Under Fire: Unifying Civil and Military Counterinsurgency*,[1] a RAND monograph published in 2009 that focused on methods for improving the security dimension of undertaking the civil aspects of counterinsurgency (COIN). That monograph summarized as succinctly as possible the materials presented here to provide an easily understandable presentation of concepts that could lead to a better integration of security and "civil COIN" measures. However, the details of how to do the civil COIN tasks discussed therein are important. This volume presents those details. Before doing so, however, we provide a brief overview of *Reconstruction Under Fire: Unifying Civil and Military Counterinsurgency* for context.

Civil COIN complements military and police efforts to control security threats and, to achieve its objectives, should be conducted in tandem with military action.[2] The purpose of the first volume was to find ways to improve security for civil COIN—essential human services, political reform, physical reconstruction, economic development, and indigenous capacity-building—in the face of insurgent threats. Civil COIN combines the direct provision of services and the improvement of government to weaken an insurgency's appeal among a population.

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[1]   See Gompert et al., 2009.

[2]   The remainder of this chapter is based heavily on the summary from Gompert et al., 2009.

There are two main challenges for U.S. civil COIN: lack of resources and danger from insurgent violence. While acknowledging the first problem, *Reconstruction Under Fire: Unifying Civil and Military Counterinsurgency* tackled the second. It proposed four enhancements to civil COIN: (1) a concept for setting priorities among civil COIN measures; (2) an improved way to allocate security forces among various civil COIN activities, as well as between them and other counterinsurgency security missions (e.g., direct operations against insurgents); (3) new, integrated concepts of operation (ICONOPS) that military and civilian leaders could employ during counterinsurgency campaigns to manage risk and produce best results for counterinsurgency as a whole; and (4) general requirements for capabilities and corresponding investments to secure civil COIN, derived from the ICONOPS.

These proposed enhancements are based on a network model for conducting civil COIN, which is informed by three case studies: Iraq's Al Anbar province, Nord-Kivu province in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), and Nangarhar province in Afghanistan. These case studies are presented in greater depth in this monograph. The cases suggest how conducting civil COIN during an active insurgency can help turn a population against insurgents by improving the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of governance.

As discussed in *Reconstruction Under Fire: Unifying Civil and Military Counterinsurgency*, because civil COIN activities typically strive to reach a wide segment of a given population, they are often implemented at a local level throughout an area of operation. This makes civil COIN activities inherently vulnerable and thus poses serious security problems. This is especially so because insurgents target government efforts to win over the population. Indeed, the frequency with which insurgents attack schools, government offices, courthouses, pipelines, electrical grids, and the like is evidence that civil COIN threatens them. Still, it is important to conduct civil COIN while insurgents remain active and dangerous rather than waiting until they are defeated by force alone.

Establishing priorities can help secure civil COIN by providing a basis for the allocation of security forces. Priorities depend on the history and culture of the country or province under threat; the insur-

gency's aims, maturity, strength, and level of violence; the gravest deficiencies in the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of governance; and the services and corresponding capacity-building efforts that ought not be postponed until territory is secure. This volume presents an analytic framework for assessing the priorities for civil COIN in a given area. From Al Anbar, Nangarhar, and Nord-Kivu, a number of exemplary, high-priority civil COIN focus areas have been identified: land reform and arbitration, primary education, building and repairing roads, planting and operating orchards, creating industrial parks, improving electricity service, and reconstituting judicial services.

Reconstruction Under Fire: Unifying Civil and Military Counterinsurgency argued that civil COIN can be implemented along networks before securing an area completely, by accepting, managing, and lowering risk. Risk is the product of threat, vulnerability, and consequences. Eliminating risk by eliminating insurgent threats is primarily a security force and intelligence mission—difficult to achieve in the absence of civil COIN and, in any case, outside the scope of this study. The formula for securing civil COIN networks in territory where threats persist is to reduce risk by reducing the vulnerability of those efforts that contribute most to the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of governance. In turn, reducing the vulnerability of a network of activities in a territory is potentially easier than eliminating the threat throughout that territory, especially against insurgents who are themselves networked and mobile. This can be achieved through a combination of adapting the way civil COIN is conducted and tailoring security to it. Civil agencies and the military must work together in devising and implementing ICONOPS. Because civil COIN can help end hostilities, the goal of enabling such efforts during conflict is a powerful argument for a more integrated civil-military approach.

Based on its findings, *Reconstruction Under Fire: Unifying Civil and Military Counterinsurgency* recommended that the U.S. government and others concerned with counterinsurgency consider adopting the following principles:

- It is important to conduct civil COIN where the population resides and despite the persistence of violence.

- Civil COIN priorities should be based on what contributes most to the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of the indigenous government and thus on the weakening of insurgency and reduction of violence.
- Population security and civil COIN security should be pursued in conjunction with one another.
- Civilian and military leaders should direct their planners and operators to develop ICONOPS to manage and lower risks to the nodes, hubs, and movements of civil COIN networks.
- Civil COIN security should explicitly be made one of the principal missions of COIN security forces.
- Civil authorities should recognize the contribution of civil COIN to reducing insurgent strength and violence and should pursue ways to enable it to proceed despite risk.
- Co-locating civil COIN activities should be explored by civil agencies to facilitate security.
- Allocating security resources among missions should be done by civilian and military leaders together and should be based on where the greatest benefit to COIN as a whole lies.
- Capabilities crucial to ICONOPS but currently inadequate should be enhanced or developed.
- Information should be openly shared among the civil and military, indigenous and international agencies responsible for securing civil COIN.
- Securing civil COIN, like civil COIN itself, should be, and be seen as, chiefly the responsibility of local government and forces, especially at points where the people are being directly served.[3]

Because this study was only an initial inquiry, there is a need for additional research and analysis of the following topics, at least:

- priorities, patterns, and practicalities of civil COIN
- feasibility and options for co-locating civil COIN activities

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[3] These bullet points are taken from Gompert et al., 2009, pp. xix–xx.

- options and requirements for local security, movement security, and quick-reaction forces
- information requirements, architecture, and infrastructure
- the adequacy of U.S. civilian and military institutions—doctrine, organizations, training, leader development and education, and personnel policies—for ICONOPS.[4]

Reconstruction Under Fire: Unifying Civil and Military Counterinsurgency proposed combining the security and civil elements in ICONOPS. In this volume, we discuss the civil COIN approach in greater detail and present the full case studies that motivated the earlier work.[5] In particular, the focus here is the methodology underlying the successful selection and execution of civil COIN initiatives, and we present an analytical framework that counterinsurgents may apply to the task of structuring civil COIN initiatives. That said, we do not propose a detailed method for prioritizing among possible civil COIN initiatives from among those that the analysis indicates would help alleviate the underlying causes of the insurgency, though we do make a few suggestions in Chapter Two.

Chapters Two and Three present a framework for analysis. Several good approaches exist for analyzing the sources and drivers of conflict, as well as how to develop programs for addressing them. In the context of this research, we reviewed several major approaches and developed one that is tailored to counterinsurgency.[6] The approach presented in these chapters builds on existing resources in two ways. First, none of the existing approaches specifically uses a counterinsurgency lens. Civil

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[4]   These bullet points are taken from Gompert et al., 2009, p. xx.

[5]   The case studies were completed in 2008. Because their purpose is solely to motivate the method proposed here, their currency is not important for our purposes. As such, they have not been updated for this follow-on volume.

[6]   Conflict analysis approaches reviewed for this work include the U.S. Agency for International Development's (USAID's) conflict assessment framework (see U.S. Agency for International Development, Office of Conflict Management and Migration, 2004); Mary B. Anderson, *Do No Harm: How Aid Can Support Peace—or War*, 1999; the World Bank's Governance Indicators (from its Governance Matters project); and the Fund for Peace Failed States Index.

COIN is a contest between the government and insurgents for the allegiance of the population. Although analysis of an insurgency context consists of the same basic elements as a general conflict analysis, the specific emphasis on bringing the population closer to the government (and pushing them further from the insurgents) presents an important nuance.

Second, the approach—which is based on the practical experience of RAND researchers and is a new contribution to the field—goes beyond the strategic and operational decisions related to designing a program that is appropriate for a given conflict context. The approach moves from a counterinsurgency-focused assessment to specifically consider the security implications of the manner in which the development activity may be carried out. The tactical aspects of civil COIN pose varying development and security benefits and risks. This level of granularity does not feature strongly in existing approaches. The approach presented here combines the best of several analytic approaches, shaped by the research team's considerable practical expertise and analysis, to provide a robust approach from the strategic aspects of civil COIN down to the tactical level.

Chapters Four, Five, and Six contain the case studies for Nangarhar in Afghanistan, Nord-Kivu in the DRC, and Al Anbar in Iraq, respectively. These case studies demonstrate how the framework may be used to help counterinsurgents identify and analyze a range of counterinsurgency tasks, be they in the security, governance, humanitarian, economic, or justice sectors, by guiding policymakers and implementers through the analysis and planning stages. The case studies do not provide prescriptive recommendations; indeed, they refer to rapidly changing conflict environments in which circumstances have changed since the time of this writing. Furthermore, the fine-grained knowledge to do so resides with those working on these issues in the areas that are the subjects of the case studies. Indeed, we emphasize that choosing and prioritizing civil COIN tasks should always remain the domain of those responsible for efforts on the ground. However, this research recognizes that patterns exist across conflict zones. It draws out the ways in which an understanding of the local environment, the capacity and expectations of the population, and the nature of the

insurgent threat can enable the counterinsurgent to choose tasks that will increase the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of the country's government in ways that will promote its ability to fight an insurgency. The case studies illustrate the approach proposed in Chapter Two.

Chapter Seven presents our concluding remarks. This volume contains an appendix that outlines our assessment techniques, including focus groups, interviews, and meetings conducted in support of the analysis, as well as more information on the survey and secondary data analysis.

This monograph, then, can be viewed as an extended annex to *Reconstruction Under Fire: Unifying Civil and Military Counterinsurgency*. It does not present additional research, but it does provide further details and should be read in this spirit.

Civil COIN Analytic Framework: Assessing the Operating Environment

The analytic framework for identifying options for civil COIN measures consists of two processes. The first is to assess the operating environment, which will result in the identification of civil COIN focus areas. These areas are of particular importance for defeating an insurgency because properly addressing them would remove the popular grievances that underlie the insurgency or opportunities for insurgents to conduct their efforts. A second, highly detailed process then helps counterinsurgents assess each focus area and create and prioritize options for ameliorating problems within each (see Figure 2.1). The first process, assess the operating environment, is covered in this chapter and outlined in Figure 2.2, and the second, focus area analysis, is covered in Chapter Three.

This framework can be applied to essentially any unit of analysis that is appropriate for the conflict area in question. We selected the province as our unit of analysis, as a point of reference to compare the three case studies and to highlight the potential nuances that can exist between villages and subgeographic areas within the same province.

Describing the operating environment for counterinsurgents is the critical first step in identifying the counterinsurgency measures that an entity will perform in a given situation. We chose to combine existing measures and approaches that are considered the gold standard by the international community. Existing measures did not complete the entire picture, however, and therefore we include additional relevant information where appropriate.

Figure 2.1
Complete Civil COIN Analytic Framework

Assess operating environment	Assess focus area
• Background • Context • Threat	• Population status and expectations • Human capacity • Physical infrastructure • Material and financial resources • Governance processes and institutions

Process

Civil COIN focus area	Civil COIN measure

Outcome
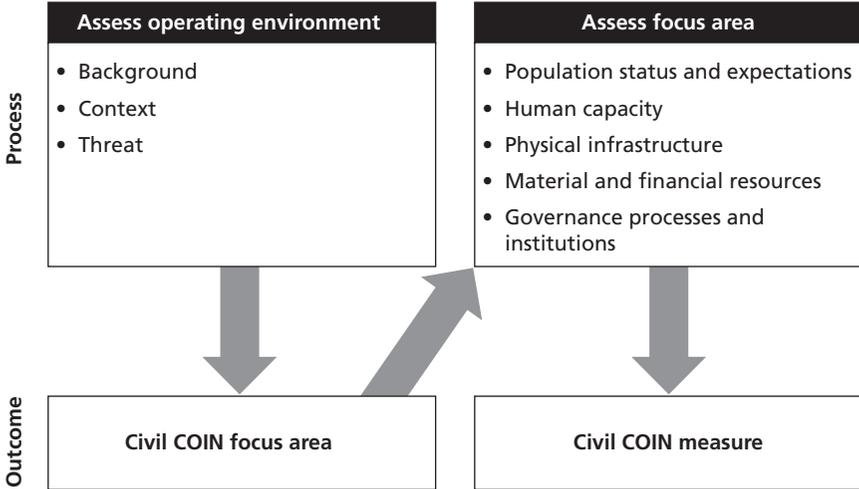
Figure 2.2
Assess the Operating Environment

Background	Context	Threat
• General history • Regional issues • Internal geography • Culture	• Social indicators • Economic indicators • Political indicators	• Organization of insurgency • Insurgent ends • Insurgent ways • Insurgent means • Popular support/ tolerance • Related threats

Process

Civil COIN focus area

Outcome
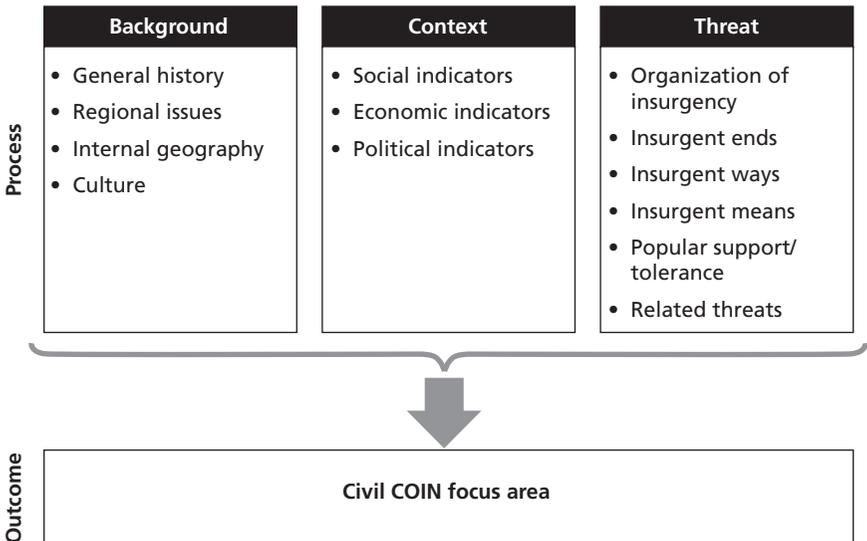
Background

Understanding what has happened in the past to shape present conditions helps make counterinsurgents aware of what matters to the population they want to help. There are four key components of the background for counterinsurgents to address.

General History

The first step in developing background knowledge of an area is to learn about its history, including critical moments of change and why that change occurred. The relevant components of history will vary by case; however, it is generally important to consider major events, such as changes in leadership, conflicts, massive population movements, and processes of industrialization and urbanization. Other considerations will be important in every case and should be identified by area experts and taken into account during the analysis.

Regional Issues

Villages, towns, provinces, and countries all exist in dynamic regions with other actors influencing activities within a set geographic area; therefore, understanding neighbors' areas of influence is also an important step. Often, political boundaries do not accurately reflect population groupings, something that becomes very apparent in our Nangarhar and Nord-Kivu case studies. Events in neighboring countries often have a greater impact on a province than events in another part of the same country. In addition, nearby or border countries can provide sanctuary and sometimes offer funding and other support to insurgencies, making the counterinsurgents' objectives that much more difficult to achieve.

Internal Geography

An overview of the area's physical geography is the next step in developing a background understanding of an area. Geography often plays into operational aspects of insurgencies, so it must be included. It is important to understand how the geography facilitates or hinders movement of people and goods, governance, economic activities, and

insurgent activities. For example, forests may simultaneously provide economic opportunities that are highly dependent on transportation infrastructure and also provide concealment for insurgents.

Culture

The physical terrain is only part of a full understanding of the makeup of an area. The human terrain is just as important. Understanding a population's norms, religion, tribal or ethnic identities, gender-based practices, and overall self-description will help counterinsurgents understand where to enter society, how to support it, and where sensitivities exist. Tribal and family relations can be very powerful and often cross provincial and sometimes even country boundaries. This assessment is critical for ensuring that the selection and implementation of civil COIN measures do not inadvertently violate cultural norms.

Context Analysis

The next step in the process is conducting a comprehensive analysis of the context of the insurgency to understand the environment in which the counterinsurgents will be working. There are a few excellent resources that serve as the basis for the proposed context analysis: For example, the Fund for Peace Failed States Index and the World Bank's Governance Indicators. Both of these data sets offer measurable indicators of governance; failures in governance are often at the heart of the population's or the insurgents' grievances and must figure strongly in any counterinsurgency strategy. In this section, it is best to combine the two frameworks under the Fund for Peace subheadings of "social," "economic," and "political" indicators. We adopt this structure in the following sections and in our case studies.

Social Indicators

The population is the center of gravity in any insurgency or counterinsurgency effort. Therefore, understanding potential triggers in a society that are easily exploited is an important step in the context analysis

process. There are several social indicators that may be relevant to the operating environment:

- *Demographic pressures.* Mounting demographic pressures (e.g., those caused by a youth bulge or rapid changes in ethnic makeup) are frequently present in countries with active insurgencies. These pressures are often tied to movements of refugees or internally displaced persons (IDPs).
- *Massive movement of refugees or IDPs.* The migration of refugees or others forced from their homes creates complex humanitarian emergencies. Large numbers of people moving to or from an area is an indicator that things are not stable in a society, and the causes of such movements need attention. If there are no safe havens, the displaced population may be in a chronic state of flight. This creates a major problem for counterinsurgents, because the population may be too scared, exhausted, or doubtful to want to help the government succeed. Extreme weather, food or water shortages, and other challenges can create complex humanitarian emergencies that serve as a potential trigger for violence or opportunity. If handled well, emergencies present the government with an opportunity for a major win and increase its legitimacy, but if handled poorly, government responses can feed into the insurgents' information operations.
- *Legacy of vengeance-seeking group grievances or group paranoia.* If vengeance-seeking groups exist within a population, the opportunity to settle old scores may arise in the chaos of fragile states and must be stopped, or at least hindered. At a minimum, counterinsurgents must not be used to aid one side over another in an existing feud that is not a core component of the insurgency.
- *Popular expectations not met.* The population has expectations of the government and counterinsurgents. Understanding these expectations and how to manage and meet them must be part of any counterinsurgency analysis.

Economic Indicators

Populations living under wartime conditions often find resources exceptionally scarce, and counterinsurgents (and sometimes insurgents as well) often bring in such essentials as food, security, employment, infrastructure, and education. Bringing resources into a resource-starved environment can create or exacerbate cleavages within a society, or the resources can be used to develop common experiences and alleviate existing frictions. Important areas of analysis include the following:

- *Uneven economic development along group lines.* Counterinsurgents must understand how resources are distributed and that, if they are distributed along group lines of any sort (e.g., tribal, ethnic, gender-based, rural, or urban), this could have a destabilizing effect on the country.
- *Sharp or severe economic decline.* Inflation, rapid price fluctuations, or any activity that leads to sharp or severe economic declines in a community is another trigger that could be exploited by insurgents.
- *Unfair competitive practices.* Free and fair competition is tied to the issue of economic resource distribution in that nepotism, price fixing, and excessive protections are often instituted in failed states or conflict environments. Counterinsurgents need to be keenly aware of whether these practices are occurring and of their destabilizing effect. Turning a blind eye or allowing these practices to continue will reduce the credibility and legitimacy of the host government.
- *Lack of state control over access to natural resources.* Natural resources can serve as an important source of revenue for the government or for insurgents and criminals. A lack of control of these resources can undermine the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of governance on two levels: It can further hinder the government's ability to deliver public services and simultaneously increase the insurgents' strength if they can control those resources.
- *Lack of enabling conditions for licit livelihoods and economic opportunities.* Conditions in insurgency-affected communities often

limit both the prospects for licit livelihoods and economic opportunities. These activities can further undermine the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of governance.

Political Indicators

In addition to the social and economic conditions that need to be addressed by counterinsurgents, the political situation plays a central role in shaping the counterinsurgents' operating environment. Some critical factors include the following:

- *Criminalization of the state.* The extent to which the state engages in criminal activity—or permits associates of senior government officials to do so—can seriously undermine its effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach. Such actions destroy the legitimacy of the government.
- *Deterioration of public services and infrastructure.* When essential public services are lacking, insurgents can capitalize on inefficiencies either by launching a negative information campaign to appeal to the population's grievances or by providing these services themselves.
- *Suspension or arbitrary application of the rule of law and widespread violation of human rights.* The legitimacy of the state is closely linked with its ability to deliver justice, promote the rule of law, and uphold human rights. Where the rule of law does not exist or is arbitrarily applied, the population tends to suffer the brunt of the vacuum, and the insurgents benefit.
- *Security apparatus operating as a "state within a state."* In countries wracked with insurgencies, there is often a legacy of state security forces perpetuating violence against segments of the population. The degree to which the public has confidence in the state security sector's dedication to promoting justice and upholding security is a critical component of the perceived legitimacy of the government.
- *Rise of factionalized elites.* When state structures are frail or nonexistent, entities or individuals will rise to fill the power void. Elites have traditionally had access to education, power, and resources,

which allows them to seize greater authority over state structures. Without an ability to control such practices, the ensuing competition for power may create factions.

- *Intervention of other states or external political actors.* The extent to which external actors are engaged in a given area can hinder the perceived legitimacy and effectiveness of the government. This is particularly important when these external actors are linked to factions within the population and are seen as protecting those factions from violent actors (including government security forces) or when they are promoting their own interests.

- *Limited civil society reach or limited liberties.* Governance structures may restrict the actions of civil society or civil liberties in an attempt to control the population. These actions can seriously undermine the perceived legitimacy of governance when they restrict liberties that the population expects.

- *Quality of bureaucracy.* One of the most critical political indicators of the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of governance is linked to the quality of bureaucracy. States without effective institutions and processes are inefficient in their governance. One common example is large numbers of "ghost workers" on a government's payroll, which can overtax the state's financial resources and divert these limited resources away from legitimate purposes.

- *Religious tolerance and the impact of external influences.* As has been the case for decades in Afghanistan, religious differences, such as among Sunni, Shi'a, Sufi, and other sects, can be dramatically heightened in insurgency situations. In Afghanistan and elsewhere, international Wahabbist influences have provided both content to the arguments for the struggles and finances to support them. In certain circumstances, understanding this dynamic is the key element in counterinsurgency analysis and could be a key element of threat analysis as well.

Threat Analysis

The third and equally critical consideration in analyzing the operating environment is the threat analysis. Counterinsurgents must understand the insurgency in the context of other elements of the operating environment if they hope to create a feasible plan that implements civil and military COIN measures and increases the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of the government. Insurgencies tend to be localized and to adapt to ever-changing social, economic, and political context factors.

Insurgent Organization

According to the U.S. military's field manual *Counterinsurgency*,[1] insurgencies can be organized in several ways, vary greatly by region and over time, and are often based on existing social networks—family, tribal, ethnic, religious, professional, or others. Multiple insurgencies or criminal networks can operate in the same geographical area, making it very difficult to clearly determine the objectives, motivations, grievances, and underlying causes of any one insurgency.

Understanding insurgent organizational structures requires counterinsurgents to answer several key questions:[2]

- Is the organization hierarchical or nonhierarchical?
- Is the organization highly structured or unsystematic?
- Are the insurgents specialists or generalists?
- Who are the leaders? Are there a few leaders (promotes rapid decisionmaking), or is there redundant leadership (promotes survivability)? Do leaders exercise centralized control, or do they allow autonomous action and initiative?
- Does the movement operate independently, or does it have links to other organizations and networks (such as criminal, religious, and political organizations)?

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[1] Headquarters, U.S. Department of the Army, and Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, 2006.

[2] Headquarters, U.S. Department of the Army, and Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, 2006.

- Does the movement place more weight on political action or violent action?

Answering these questions will help counterinsurgents derive an integrated military and civil COIN implementation plan that will not inadvertently benefit the insurgents and will increase opportunities for counterinsurgency success. For example, if it is determined through intelligence that an insurgent group is hierarchical, the military can target specific segments of its leadership, providing counterinsurgents with a better chance of success during a time when the insurgent organization is operating without a leader or in a state of transition. Counterinsurgents should continually analyze the second- and third-order effects of every activity implemented. The benefits and challenges to different development activities are discussed later in this chapter.

Ends, Ways, and Means

In addition to understanding the basic organization of insurgent groups, a central element to threat analysis is the development of an understanding of what the insurgents are trying to achieve (ends, e.g., establish a Taliban version of an Islamic state in Afghanistan), the conceptual approaches that they use to accomplish their goals (ways, e.g., win the population through coercion and the delivery of swift "justice"), and the resources at their disposal (means, e.g., human, material, and fiscal resources). In addition to determining insurgents' ends, ways, and means, it is important to understand their strengths and vulnerabilities.

Insurgent Ends. Every insurgency has objectives, goals, or desired end states that insurgents wish to achieve and that are motivated by specific grievances or ideologies. It is important to note that these grievances may be real or perceived and may change as the operational environment changes. These ends are usually political, economic, or ideological. Understanding the underlying causes of an insurgency is critical for developing a counterinsurgency plan to reduce popular support for the insurgency and build the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of the government. Such a plan considers insurgent objectives at three levels: strategic, operational, and tactical. A strategic objective

is the end state itself: seizure of political power, perhaps by overthrowing the existing government, or control of natural resources (e.g., poppy crops, oil, diamonds) in a province, country, or geographic area. An operational objective links this strategic end state with tactical objectives. Usually, this objective is realized through events that reduce the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of the government in the eyes of the population or other international actors. Successful achievement of multiple tactical objectives can result in attainment of an operational objective. Tactical objectives are the immediate actions of insurgents; they can be physical or psychological in nature and are often both. For example, creating chaos and panic through multiple car-bombings (proving that the government cannot respond or intimidating the population into supporting the insurgency) and disseminating messages and propaganda (spreading through word of mouth that if the population supports the counterinsurgents, their families will be killed) are tactical objectives.

Insurgent Ways. Insurgents use a variety of practical methods to achieve their goals, such as gathering the support of the population and reducing support for the government. Some examples of common ways of winning popular support are political activities (e.g., providing services), information or propaganda campaigns (e.g., public messaging, media, word of mouth, Internet, flyers), developing a competent political cadre and fighters (training and logistics), and violent activities (e.g., intimidation, threats, roadside bombs, murder). Insurgents also achieve their objectives through practical methods or techniques, including maintaining mobility to avoid detection and capture, blending in with the population, being a learning organization (e.g., learning from each other, other insurgencies, and even the counterinsurgents), and constantly adapting to changes in the environment.

Insurgent Means. Insurgencies acquire resources (e.g., weapons, money, material, knowledge, ammunition, fighters) from external sources (e.g., other governments, groups, or supporters) or through internal means (e.g., the population itself). Successful insurgencies are adaptive and innovative, even with limited resources. For example, they are often good at expending few resources to attack counterinsurgents' expensive and difficult-to-replace equipment and personnel. The

current use of improvised explosive devices is the prime example. An insurgent can use less than $100 in readily available materials to create a bomb that can destroy a multimillion-dollar armored vehicle and kill or injure counterinsurgent personnel.

Popular Support and Tolerance. Insurgents can generate popular support or tolerance using persuasion (charismatic leaders, ideologies, promises, and demonstrations proving that the insurgency will come out on top), coercion (terrorism and threats to family, individuals, and villages), incentives (money, revenge, providing services, and promoting the romance of fighting), gathering foreign support, and provoking the existing government to make it appear illegitimate, incompetent, or abusive to the population. The U.S. military's counterinsurgency field manual defines four forms of popular support:[3]

- *Active external.* The insurgency receives financing, logistics, training, forces, and sanctuary from a foreign government or nongovernmental organization (NGO).
- *Passive external.* The insurgency's sources of support can include inaction by a foreign government and full tolerance of the insurgents' activities, the insurgency's recognition as a legitimate group, and a refusal to recognize the legitimacy of the indigenous government.
- *Active internal.* The population provides fighters, logistics, finances, intelligence, safe havens, medical attention, transportation, and other types of support.
- *Passive internal.* The population tolerates insurgents operating in the area and denies information and support to the counterinsurgents, for example.

To this list, we add a fifth condition that may favor the insurgents but falls short of support. After decades of conflict, some populations are so psychologically, physically, and financially exhausted that they are unable to effectively determine what is best for their own future and

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[3]   Headquarters, U.S. Department of the Army, and Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, 2006.

who might help provide it. Here, it becomes equally challenging for the insurgent and counterinsurgent alike to gain reliable, long-term adherents. Apart from guaranteed security, there are no useful bromides, and these exhausted populations may take the proffered security medicine from any would-be physician, local or international.

Related Threats

There are often noninsurgent groups operating in areas affected by insurgency, with destabilizing effects. Almost always present are large-scale criminal organizations, which often have a symbiotic relationship with insurgents (i.e., criminal organizations function best in ungoverned spaces, and criminal proceeds may fund insurgent activities). It is important to identify and understand these other groups, which may include criminal networks, nongovernment militias, terrorist groups, and vigilante groups.

Outcome 1: Civil COIN Focus Area

By assessing the background, context, and threat in a systematic manner, actors engaged in civil COIN can identify key areas that require civil authorities to act in order to undercut the insurgency or improve the effectiveness, legitimacy, or reach of the government. We call these civil COIN focus areas. In addition, a thorough assessment can identify drivers and opportunities for the insurgency to gain popular support or tolerance from the population. Before discussing how to assess focus areas in the next chapter, it is worthwhile to highlight a few general topics of consideration with respect to focus areas and their place in counterinsurgency in general.

The process of assessing a conflict will identify several focus areas. Given resource constraints, counterinsurgents will generally have to prioritize within and among these focus areas. There are a variety of strategies for prioritization, but there is no consensus on this complex process. Leaders on the ground must set priorities based on their judgment about what aspects of the conflict are most important with respect to enhancing the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of the gov-

ernment in the eyes of the people, aided by assessment models. These are prudential judgments to be exercised by those most familiar with the facts and must be made with regard to what the counterinsurgents know about the expectations of the people. A common error is the substitution of Western expectations for local ones. For example, in developing countries, the economic and social aspects of the situation may seem critical to Western observers but may in fact meet or even exceed the expectations of the population and so may require only limited resources and attention. They would not be good candidates for designation as civil COIN focus areas—an issue addressed in the next chapter.

A further general consideration is the fact that all assistance of any kind in a country undergoing an insurgency is highly political, even if that is not the intent of those making program decisions.[4] This is true on local as well as international levels. Locally, civil COIN programs can affect whether a country will be more unified or more fragmented (e.g., by how they affect the distribution of power and control of wealth), or they can empower one social group at the expense of another. On an international level, the goals of the host government are often at odds with those of its international supporters, and civil COIN programs designed to further the goals of international parties (e.g., for representative and responsive government) may actually weaken a government that is based on patronage and power. Again, the key consideration should be for improving the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of the government. It is useful here to make the distinction between counterinsurgency and development goals. Although they are strongly related in some cases, counterinsurgency goals have to do with ending a conflict favorably, while development goals address social shortcomings. Creating a political environment that is more aligned with Western ideals may be important to both sets of goals, but how this plays out over time in the context of a conflict is often difficult to determine.

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[4]   This observation was made emphatically by Ambassador Ronald Neumann during a RAND workshop in November 2008, held as part of the research leading to *Reconstruction Under Fire: Unifying Civil and Military Counterinsurgency.* Our extensive experience in wartorn countries bears this out.

While the selection of focus areas will be important primarily in terms of how they affect the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of governance, it is their collective rather than individual effect that is most important. The realities of counterinsurgency rarely permit comprehensive plans to be developed and implemented in full, so this consideration, while important, should not be understood as a requirement. It is rarely possible to implement programs only once a comprehensive suite of programs has been developed. However, it is equally true that all programs that address shortcomings in focus areas should be designed and implemented as part of the overall plan and that synergies and contradictions between programs are important considerations. For example, in *Reconstruction Under Fire: Unifying Civil and Military Counterinsurgency*, we emphasized the point that plans for civil COIN must be made in conjunction with security plans. In this way, counterinsurgents can identify how to get the greatest amount of civil COIN done with a given set of security capabilities and can think about trade-offs among all counterinsurgency approaches, given limited security capabilities.

The same applies to the synergies and constraints created among civil COIN programs directed at focus areas. For example, in *Reconstruction Under Fire: Unifying Civil and Military Counterinsurgency*, we noted that efforts to establish schools and medical facilities and to undertake other civil COIN activities might have to be co-located to make the provision of security simpler. These efforts could also be co-located to limit the number of construction projects and resupply convoys that must be managed.

Additionally, efforts that work at cross-purposes must be avoided. A common example from recent U.S. efforts is when civil COIN programs conducted by one U.S. organization seek to develop capabilities for indigenous self-government, such as the ability to create and execute a budget for municipal services, while efforts by another organization provide those same municipal services, thus obviating the need for the indigenous government to create and execute a budget for them.[5]

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[5]   Author Terrence Kelly's observations while conducting provincial reconstruction team evaluations in Iraq, 2008.

This implies robust coordination among civilian and military COIN actors.

Holistic planning for ICONOPS is needed to mitigate these and other failings of counterinsurgents. We do not address these subjects further in this volume, as it is not meant to be a handbook on all aspects of counterinsurgency, and some of these topics were covered in the earlier work. We leave this general discussion by reemphasizing that priorities should be designated by counterinsurgency leaders on the ground, that these priorities should be driven by current facts and a deep understanding of counterinsurgency theory, and that they should be informed by popular expectations and the need to improve the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of governance.

Before discussing the next step, there is one technical tool worth mentioning explicitly with regard to identifying focus areas. The Essential Task Matrix (ETM) developed by the U.S. Department of State's Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization provides a useful framework for understanding the range of potential focus areas.[6]

The ETM is divided into five technical sectors: (1) security, (2) governance and participation, (3) humanitarian assistance and social well-being, (4) economic stabilization and infrastructure, and (5) justice and reconciliation. Each of these sectors includes a list of essential tasks—many of which include subtasks. For our purposes, *civil COIN focus area* refers to the task-level activities in the ETM. These focus areas are shown in Table 2.1.

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[6]   See U.S. Department of State, Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization, 2005.

Table 2.1
Tasks from the Essential Task Matrix, by Technical Sector

Security	Governance and Participation	Humanitarian Assistance and Social Well-Being	Economic Stabilization and Infrastructure	Justice and Reconciliation
Disposition of armed and other security forces, intelligence services, and belligerents	National constituting processes	Refugees and IDPs	Employment generation	Interim criminal justice system
Territorial security	Transitional governance	Trafficking in persons	Monetary policy	Indigenous police
Public order and safety	Executive authority	Food security	Fiscal policy and governance	Judicial personnel and infrastructure
Protection of indigenous individuals, infrastructure, and institutions	Legislative strengthening	Shelter and nonfood relief	General economic policy	Property
Protection of reconstruction and stabilization personnel and institutions	Local governance	Humanitarian de-mining	Financial sector	Legal system reform
Security coordination	Transparency and anticorruption	Public health	Debt	Human rights
Public information and communication	Elections	Education	Trade	Corrections
	Political parties	Social protection	Market economy	War crime courts and tribunals
	Civil society and media	Assessment, analysis, and reporting	Legal and regulatory reform	Truth commissions and remembrance
	Public information and communication	Public information and communication	Agricultural development	Community rebuilding
			Social safety net	Public information and communication
			Infrastructure: transportation, telecommunications, energy, general, public information, and communication	

Civil COIN Analytic Framework: Assessing Focus-Area Needs and Capacity

Once the focus areas for a civil COIN campaign are identified, it is important to conduct a detailed needs assessment and a capacity assessment for each. The needs assessment should identify the gap between the expectations of the population and reality. Population expectations will vary based on the norms in a given area. The capacity assessment should identify the government's ability to meet the population's expectations and any local coping mechanisms that communities have developed in lieu of government support. The reality requires an understanding of the current status of the population and the current capacity and efforts of the government to meet its expectations (Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1
Assess the Focus Area
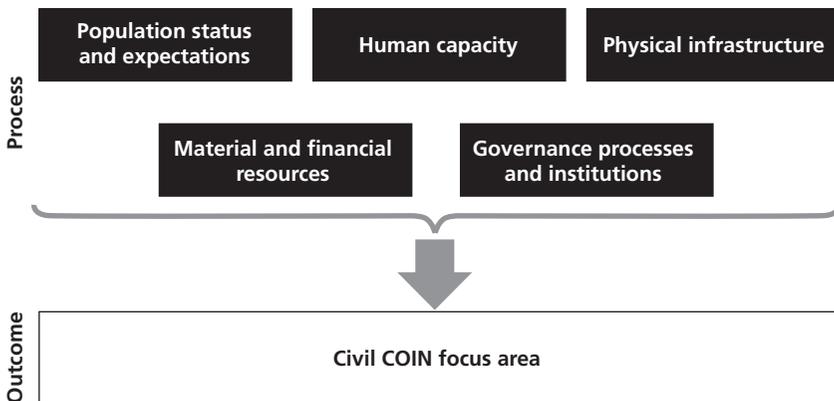
The counterinsurgent must factor in any planned capacity and effort to meet expectations that donors or the government itself has already identified. For each of the assessment areas, it is important to understand the current status and expectations of the population as well as the existing and planned capabilities. There are several capabilities that could be considered. In this chapter, we address human capacity, physical infrastructure, material and financial capacity, and governance processes and institutions. Understanding the gap between the population's expectations and its current reality, as well as the capabilities to address this gap, constitutes the needs assessment.

Needs and Capacity Assessment

Population Status and Expectations

Needs must be assessed with respect to the population's status and expectations. Therefore, the first step of the needs assessment is to determine the current status of the population. For example, when conducting a needs assessment of public health, it is important to understand the diseases and other health-related conditions that are affecting the population and their level of prevalence. The second step is to understand what the population expects, and this will differ for different segments of the population. One example could be related to the availability of basic health services. The cultural norm in a given country could be to travel one hour for basic health services. The population's expectations of its government would be to provide a clinic within that distance. To the extent that there are segments of the population that have to travel three hours to the nearest clinic, the need in this area would be to provide a clinic or mobile health center within the expected one-hour distance for these segments of the population.

Human Capacity

It is important to understand the full range of human capacity—or lack thereof—in the given focus area. This extends from the presence or absence of personnel and their level of competence. Human capacity should take into consideration the various levels of skills needed.

For example, if examining the human capacity of public health, it is important to consider the literacy, technical education, management abilities, and number of staff at all levels of service delivery, including clinics, hospitals, related disease surveillance centers, and the ministry of health.

Physical Infrastructure

The assessment of physical infrastructure should parallel the assessment of human capacity by examining multiple levels and related offices. In addition, it should consider the transportation, communication, and public infrastructure that affect the area of focus. In the case of public health, for example, this should include an assessment of buildings at the clinic and hospital level, as well as the offices for related public health officials and required storage facilities. It should also take into consideration the status of the road networks, which are important for access to these public health services; the electricity and water infrastructure, which is important for the delivery of effective health services; and the level of communication infrastructure, such as cell-phone towers.

Material and Financial Resources

Equipment and supplies are often critical to the ability to respond to a focus area. The assessment of material and financial resources again should parallel the comprehensive analysis of human capacity and physical infrastructure. In the public health example, this assessment would include such items as medical equipment, pharmaceutical stocks, storage containers, hazardous waste disposal, vehicles, and office supplies and machines at all levels of public health delivery for the chosen geographical location.

Governance Processes and Institutions

It is also important to understand the governance processes and institutions that affect efforts in the focus area. Institutions are the government's bureaucratic structures that oversee a specific focus area or areas. Processes are the methods, practices, and actions that those within the bureaucracy use to achieve the institution's mission. There are often

formal and informal processes in any institution. In the public health example, an important process is the delivery of pay to health personnel, and an important institution is the license-granting agency for medical professionals.

Outcome 2: Civil COIN Measure

The assessment of each civil COIN focus area will provide valuable insights for the measure that should be used for planning. There are three key components of a civil COIN measure: (1) type of activity, (2) implementation approach, and (3) implementer (see Table 3.1). The following discussion is based on our collective field experiences.

For each of these components, it is critical to consider both the short- and long-term effects: "In the face of long-term necessity, short-term effectiveness is often a poor substitute, especially when actions taken in the short term to solve immediate problems counteract the long-term goals of the counterinsurgency operation."[1]

Table 3.1
Key Components of Civil COIN Measures

Type of Activity	Implementation Approach	Implementer
Build or repair nodes	Distributed	Indigenous civil
Build or repair connectors		
Deliver goods	Mobile	Foreign civil
Deliver services		
Train	Central	Indigenous military
Mentor		
Provide technical assistance	Distance	Foreign military
Hold meetings		

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[1]   Rabasa et al., 2007, p. xv.

Type of Activity

Civil COIN activities span all sectors of development and reconstruction. Across these sectors there are eight common types of activities that support the network model of counterinsurgency articulated in *Reconstruction Under Fire: Unifying Civil and Military Counterinsurgency*:

1. Build or repair nodes.
2. Build or repair connectors.
3. Deliver goods.
4. Deliver services:
    – front end (human interaction/front lines)
    – back end (existing infrastructure/behind the scenes).
5. Train.
6. Mentor.
7. Provide technical assistance.
8. Hold meetings.

The following sections detail the nature of these activities and describe the benefits and challenges, in terms of both development and the security of each type of activity. In addition, we examine the extent to which each activity could serve as either a "connector" or a "divider." *Connector* and *divider* are terms coined by the Local Capacity for Peace (LCP) Initiative and are described in depth in Mary B. Anderson's book *Do No Harm: How Aid Can Support Peace—or War.* The LCP Initiative found that conflicts are always characterized by two forces: People in conflict areas are divided by subgroup identities, but there are still some things that connect people across divisional lines. Connectors and dividers can be found in institutions and structures, attitudes and actions, values and interests, experiences and symbols.[2] Our study employed these descriptors as useful measures for the effects of civil COIN activities.

To provide more concreteness to this discussion, we use rule of law as an illustrative example. Rule of law is generally recognized as a

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[2] Anderson, 1999.

particularly critical area of focus for civil COIN, and justice and security efforts must be undertaken even in hostile environments.

1. Build/Repair Nodes. Building a node involves designing and constructing a physical structure. Similarly, existing nodes can be repaired. A node can be either temporary or permanent, intended for a specific purpose or multifunctional, for one beneficiary population or for multiple populations. Rule-of-law nodes include village town halls, courthouses, police stations, border-crossing facilities, checkpoints, secure document storage areas, community centers, social justice centers, prisons and other correctional facilities, police academies, law schools, legal libraries, corrections training facilities, and IDP camps.

Development Benefits and Challenges. Nodes can serve as a physical reminder of the presence of the government and can be one mechanism for demonstrating immediate, tangible results. In addition, nodes can be integral for carrying out other activities. For example, detaining criminal suspects requires a physical holding place. Conversely, physical structures rarely have significant development effects unless they are accompanied by associated types of activities, or "soft development." To the extent that physical structures do not fulfill their larger purpose, they can actually be a constant "reminder" that the government is not able to carry out essential government functions. For example, building a courthouse with no judges, desks, or supplies serves as a visual reminder of the government's ineffectiveness. Given that construction is material-intensive, there can be challenges in procuring and receiving needed materials of appropriate standards. The time frame for the outcomes of these activities will vary by node.

Connectors and Dividers. Building a node may connect the population with the government to the extent that the node is seen as a positive sign of the government's presence (or reach). It may also facilitate community gatherings by providing a needed physical space. Conversely, a building that is established without proper consultation or in a manner that creates the perception of corruption or favoritism (such as awarding sizable contracts to one group over another) can create a division between the population and the government or within the population itself.

Security Benefits and Challenges. Nodes are relatively easy to secure in that they occupy a specific space and are stationary. For these same reasons, they are well-defined targets for insurgents. However, certain structures may foster improved security (e.g., prisons that keep convicted insurgents or criminals from harming the population). Good development practice recommends that the beneficiary community provide a significant contribution to projects, and nodes are no exception. If the community is involved with a node's construction or refurbishment, it is widely believed that the public will be more likely to protect the node if external threats develop.

2. Build or Repair Connectors. A connector is infrastructure that joins two or more points, or nodes, and is often the medium by which people or things travel between villages, regions, and nodes. Connecting infrastructure is often referred to as "lines of communication." Some examples include roads and highways; airways; telephone lines, cell-phone towers, and radio repeater towers; oil, gas, and water pipelines; electrical lines; and railways and riverways used for transport or shipping. In particular, connectors that are most salient to the rule of law are transportation and communication infrastructure.

Development Benefits and Challenges. Connectors facilitate the movement of information, goods, services, and people. Transportation infrastructure is often critical to livelihoods: It enables members of the population to access internal and external markets. The increased access to information can also improve livelihoods (e.g., preparing for a potential weather hazard or knowing the market value of a particular crop). Adequate communication and transportation infrastructure is also critical for officials to adequately promote public safety, such as by creating emergency response numbers for the population to call. Building connectors generally requires an integrated plan to cover the range of the connector, which can be challenging in insecure environments. A project may fail altogether, or its success may be limited if only segments of the connector are completed (e.g., a gas pipeline cannot transport gas if it is missing sections). The time frame for the outcomes of these activities will vary by connector.

Connectors and Dividers. Connecter infrastructure facilitates movement and sharing of information, which can serve as a connector

by reducing the isolation of particular communities. In addition, the population can be connected to government assets (e.g., fuel, materials, training services, oversight visits to the villages from legal advisers); the government can connect with the population, determine its needs, and assess its grievances. On the other hand, the increased information and ability to move throughout the region may bring the government into direct contact with divided segments of the population. Similarly, the expectation for adequate transportation and communication infrastructure could lead to greater frustration toward the government if it is not properly maintained. And if certain segments of the population receive connectors or have their connectors repaired before others, it can lead to perceptions of disparity and frustration of the population.

If insurgents destroy the roads or cell-phone towers on which the community relies, the counterinsurgents have an opportunity to divide the population from the insurgents through information operations.

Security Benefits and Challenges. Securing a connector can be an extremely difficult task. The geographical area that must be covered is usually relatively large and likely necessitates security personnel or equipment at multiple sites. For example, road construction often requires securing multiple camps for equipment and personnel in addition to the section of road being repaired or constructed. These connectors can facilitate the provision of security by increasing the mobility and ease of communication for security actors. Conversely, improved connectors may also facilitate the movement and communication of insurgents. Connectors can provide multiple targets, often in remote areas, for the insurgents. However, communication connectors can also be used to help identify the location of insurgents.

3. Delivery of Goods. The delivery of a good is the provision of a material item to meet a demand. Some examples of goods as components of rule of law are copies of legal codes, vehicles, generators, stationery for official correspondence, office furniture, fuel, and bulk food rations. Goods can be broken into four basic categories based on the size of the good and its life cycle (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2
Categorization of Goods, Rule of Law

Life Cycle	Size	Example
Long	Large	Courthouse furniture, vehicles
Long	Small	Copies of legal codes
Short	Large	Fuel, bulk food rations (e.g., for corrections facilities)
Short	Small	Stationery

Development Benefits and Challenges. Material items for rule of law are often scarce—if available at all—and prone to damage, destruction, or threat in conflict settings. In addition, insecurity can hinder the transportation of goods to more remote settings. Providing goods can increase the effectiveness of officials. For example, vehicles allow corrections officers to transport the accused to a courthouse for trial. One challenge of delivering goods in insecure environments is that they are at risk of being co-opted by insurgents. This has a dual impact by diminishing the effectiveness of the government or contested population and simultaneously increasing the effectiveness of the insurgents. Delivery of goods generally produces outcomes in the near term.

Connectors and Dividers. Goods can serve as a connector between the population and the government by providing visible evidence that the government is functioning or addressing immediate needs. In the rule-of-law case, for example, goods can inform multiple communities of their legal rights, thus developing a shared understanding. For instance, rule-of-law comic books can be developed and distributed to elementary schools. However, if these types of goods are abused (e.g., by corrupt officials co-opting vehicles for personal use), they can serve as a divider between the population and the government. In other words, existing tensions or divisions can be exacerbated by perceived bias in the delivery of goods.

Security Benefits and Challenges. To the extent that goods improve rule of law and so help the indigenous government promote public safety and reduce threats from criminals, they will improve the overall security situation. Such improvements both facilitate other counterinsurgency activities and serve as an important step in demon-

strating the effectiveness of the indigenous government. The security challenges vary based on the category of goods. In general, large goods may be particularly appealing targets for insurgents because they are more exposed and harder to secure. Goods that need to be replaced frequently due to a short shelf life or high usage rates also necessitate more frequent delivery and thus present more frequent opportunities for targeting. Again, goods that are co-opted by insurgents can strengthen an insurgency, either by directly contributing to insurgent capabilities or by creating a perception that the insurgents could do better than the government in meeting the needs of the contested population, particularly in cases in which insurgents share their "spoils."

4. Deliver Services. Service delivery is the carrying out of the essential functions expected of the government and thus contributing to the social contract between the state and its population. There are two delivery mediums. One is considered "front-end" service delivery or "face-to-face" interaction, which requires personal interaction to deliver the service. The second method is "back-end" service delivery. This delivery method has the skilled worker behind the scenes, and the population comes into contact only with the commodity (e.g., gas, electricity, water). Examples of front-end service delivery in our rule-of-law case include vetting justice and security officials, administering justice, resolving disputes, protecting human rights, providing legal counsel, and assessing property rights. Back-end service delivery examples include providing electricity to run courts and justice facilities, and providing telephone services to connect the population with the government.

Development Benefits and Challenges. The provision of services is critical for enhancing and preserving the perceived effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of the government. The largest benefit of service delivery is that it is essential for a return to "normalcy." The delivery of services can be highly labor-intensive, requiring specialized technical skills, and also time-consuming, as service provision is generally an ongoing activity. One of the challenges is that service delivery requires a certain level of capacity on the part of the civil counterinsurgent, and thus it is one of the most difficult activities for the indigenous government to implement. Service delivery is the type of activity in which the

tension between long-term development and quick impact is particularly acute, and the time frame for the outcomes will depend largely on the implementation approach.

Connectors and Dividers. Similarly to goods, services can connect the population and the government by demonstrating that the government is functioning; however, services can also be abused. For example, land rights analysis may serve as a divider between the population and the government or among different groups within the population if it is perceived to entail inequity or favoritism. To the extent that indigenous government actors who lack adequate capacity attempt to deliver services, this can exacerbate concerns about the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of the government. Additionally, insurgents often capitalize on the lack of service delivery to divide the population from the government. To this end, they may target successful service delivery activities. When service delivery by the government is absent, insurgents may offer or impose an alternative to win over the support of the population.

Security Benefits and Challenges. Service delivery is highly labor-intensive, but if the implementers are not targets of the insurgents, there can be minimal security requirements. In some respects, services can be delivered more discreetly than goods, and, thus, this type of activity could be implemented with less risk. If delivery agents are targets of insurgents, however, there are significant security demands that increase in proportion to the number of individuals needed to deliver the services. In extreme cases, beneficiaries of services are targeted to intimidate the population and make people fearful of using government services. Securing benefit communities may need to be considered as well, and this is also very labor-intensive.

5. Train. Training is a type of activity intended to teach an individual or group specific skills, knowledge, or experience for the purpose of making the target group fit, qualified, or proficient in the topic. Training typically has a designated time limit, a set schedule, and a focus on providing specific information to a specific audience.

Development Benefits and Challenges. Training is a useful technique to convey information and build indigenous human capacity. The primary development benefits of training are realized when par-

ticipants perform other types of activities. For example, the benefits of training judges on new legal codes accrue when the judges return to courtrooms and preside over cases governed by the legal codes. If training can improve the delivery of goods and services, it can improve the perceived effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of governance.

Training is challenging because it may require significant travel by either the trainer or the beneficiaries. Particularly intensive training programs may diminish participants' ability to perform their other functions (e.g., judges who are being trained on new legal codes are not present in courtrooms). In addition, the outcomes are often difficult to measure and may accrue over a long period.

Connectors and Dividers. Training provides an excellent opportunity to mitigate conflict in the local context by creating common experiences if each group of the target population participates. Depending on the type of training, it can play up shared values and interests within or between communities. In addition, training of government officials can improve their ability to engage with the population and thus can serve as a connector between the population and the government.

Training can also exacerbate existing local tensions. If the beneficiaries of the training are members of one subgroup in a local context, perceptions of disparity can ensue. Creating different experiences among the population or between multiple populations could also exacerbate tension in the local context. To the extent that training opportunities are seen to be abused by government officials or to diminish the government's ability to perform its functions (e.g., judges spending a significant amount of time outside their jurisdictions), these activities could create divisions between the population and their government.

Security Benefits and Challenges. Training requires the security of individuals and, potentially, groups of individuals (depending on the implementation approach). This includes securing the participants' movement, training facilities, and supplies. If the training is being conducted remotely via video teleconferencing (VTC) or the Internet, for example, then securing the equipment may also become a factor.

6. Mentor. Mentoring is a type of activity that establishes a relationship between an experienced individual, a mentor, and a less experienced partner, referred to as a "protégé." The mentor is usually a more

prominent person who helps guide and advise the protégé in a specific set of skills or knowledge. We note that *mentoring*, as used here, differs significantly from the practice of the same name, in which relatively junior Western military officers "mentor" very senior host-nation counterparts. This misnomer is common in Iraq and Afghanistan. Through interaction, teaching, and providing advice and guidance, the mentor helps increase the capacity and effectives of the protégé.

Development Benefits and Challenges. Mentoring is designed to benefit an individual's professional or personal growth. It is a long-term, flexible approach to helping individuals who have the potential to grow into leaders in a given context. Inputs and outputs are easily measured. Similarly to training, the benefits of mentoring in terms of government effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach accrue through improvement of the overall functioning of the government and the development of human capacity.

Mentoring is time-intensive and can be costly. It does not reach a wide swath of the population, and it is difficult to measure the benefits. It requires extensive recruitment to ensure that the personalities of the mentor and protégé will work together.

Connectors and Dividers. Mentoring can help build connectors if the protégé is a peace-building figure in the local context. The mentor can help shape the protégé's attitude and approach, building connections between the government and the population.

Due to the time-consuming nature of mentoring, local tensions can be exacerbated when only one or a few people in a local context receive the direct benefit of the mentor. Not every subpopulation group can be involved with this type of activity, which can lead to feelings of disparity. In addition, if the mentor does not understand the local context, he or she could inadvertently champion values or interests that divide the population from the government, or that divide subgroups from the larger population.

Security Benefits and Challenges. Mentors are usually high-ranking and may therefore require special security measures. If the mentor is not high-ranking enough to merit a security detail, requirements should be managed in context, thus imposing only a minimal additional burden on those providing security. Usually, once a connec-

tion is established, mentoring can be conducted remotely via telephone or email, thereby further diminishing the need for significant additional security, except for equipment.

7. Provide Technical Assistance. Technical assistance is the process through which a skilled individual or set of individuals with practical knowledge provides support or aid to another individual or group of individuals with a specific technical challenge. Technical assistance is generally provided in conjunction with another type of activity.

Development Benefits and Challenges. Technical assistance is a principal activity type used by development professionals because of the ever-changing challenges involved with project implementation. Often, issues arise that require specific skills to solve, so experts are brought in to work on the issue. The assistance is flexible in that it can be short- or long-term, constant or episodic, and delivered by an individual or a team. Its inputs, outputs, and outcomes are easily measured. Technical assistance can improve the human capacity of beneficiaries while simultaneously improving the implementation of other types of activities.

Technical assistance can be challenging if the skills needed are not available, which can be the case in highly specialized or violent situations. The providers tend to be expatriates and can be costly; outsiders can be viewed as undermining local capabilities if not used correctly. Additionally, in developing countries, there is a concern about sustainability if the local population cannot solve problems itself.

Connectors and Dividers. Depending on the project, bringing in a technical expert can help create a shared experience between the government and the population or within a population group. If those benefiting from a project jointly receive the assistance, it can create a sense of community and commonality.

Alternatively, if one group receives assistance while another does not, it can create or exacerbate tensions due to perceived differences in treatment. Furthermore, if the expert providing the technical assistance is from a group (ethnic, tribal, or governmental) that has a conflict with the beneficiary group, issues of trust could arise and make the project difficult to implement. Similarly, to the extent that the government relies on external technical assistance, this activity can be per-

ceived as an indication of limited government capacity and thus harm the government's perceived effectiveness.

Security Benefits and Challenges. Because technical assistance is tied to a specific activity, the security challenges will mirror those of whichever type of activity it is supporting. For example, if the intention is to construct a courthouse, the security challenges will be the same as those for constructing or repairing a node. If the goal is to help improve operations in a prison, the activity would have the same security challenges as training or mentoring.

8. Hold Meetings. Meetings bring people together for a specific reason other than to transfer specific skills (which would be training). Meetings can play an important role in all aspects of implementation of civil COIN, including

- providing information
- acquiring information
- garnering buy-in
- gaining consensus
- making a decision
- planning
- addressing challenges
- monitoring
- evaluating
- identifying stakeholders.

For example, in our rule-of-law case, activities for government beneficiaries may need to bring together justice-sector actors to discuss the challenges of delivering justice services and to identify potential solutions to overcome these obstacles. In this situation, the role of the civil counterinsurgent is to coordinate and moderate the meeting. Similarly, an example of a civil COIN meeting with the population as the beneficiary could be a preliminary meeting to collect information about existing dispute-resolution mechanisms and the range of opinions on these mechanisms, which can be used to inform future rule-of-law activities.

Development Benefits and Challenges. A significant benefit of meetings is that they provide an opportunity to foster relationships beyond the particular topic of the meeting. These social interactions can help create shared experience. The success of these meetings depends on the attendees. As such, one challenge is to ensure that key stakeholders are engaged in the meeting. This can be particularly difficult in environments in which there are existing tensions. Meetings can also reduce the amount of time spent on a given activity by bringing together all stakeholders at one time rather than holding a myriad of individual discussions.

Connectors and Dividers. In many insurgency environments, there is a significant need to establish a sense of commonality, which can be achieved by bringing together groups of people. The challenge is to ensure that all appropriate parties are included and to build in processes for resolving disputes to help avoid a spoiler from derailing the activity.

Security Benefits and Challenges. Meetings can be easy targets for insurgents because they potentially bring together large numbers of human targets in one location. To minimize this risk, meetings can be held remotely or using technology (discussed in the next section).

Implementation Approach

There are a number of implementation approaches for civil COIN activities that may be more or less appropriate, depending on the activity and the social, political, and security environment, as illustrated by our case studies in Chapters Four through Six. Here, we discuss the distributed, mobile, central, and distance approaches.

Distributed. The distributed approach implements civil COIN activities throughout the region where they are needed. As an implementation approach, the distributed strategy requires civil counterinsurgents to live in close physical proximity to where they work during project implementation. In other words, counterinsurgents are embedded in specific communities. This approach encourages counterinsurgents to live with the project's beneficiaries and incorporate the local community into the project when possible. This can occur at

any geographical level: village, district or county, province or state, or nationally.

Development Benefits and Challenges. One of the greatest benefits of using a distributed strategy is open access. The counterinsurgent is provided with insight into the culture and community of the beneficiaries, resulting in a better understanding of how to connect the government to the population. Additionally, the beneficiaries will have greater buy-in during the process if they know and trust the counterinsurgent managing the project. It also provides the counterinsurgent with an opportunity to meet those in nearby areas, opening the possibility of expanding the program to more difficult locales or more challenging situations.

The distributed strategy is very labor-intensive. This may result in a recruitment challenge, especially in areas that are less developed or more dangerous. As the community size increases, it becomes more challenging for the counterinsurgent to become truly distributed unless the beneficiaries at the larger population level are a smaller subgroup into which the counterinsurgent can embed. Embedded counterinsurgents may also be perceived as biased to the extent that they associate more with certain subpopulations.

Connectors and Dividers. The distributed strategy works well to provide a common experience to the beneficiaries and the counterinsurgent. It allows the embedded person or people to understand the culture's values and interests; if a person is properly trained, he or she can manage the project in such a way that the benefits of support for the government are clear.

If the embedded individual (or group of individuals) is not culturally aware, his or her presence can create or heighten local tensions. The possibility of providing different experiences that expose different values or interests in a beneficiary group or between beneficiaries and nonbeneficiaries is a very real concern.

Security Benefits and Challenges. The distributed strategy requires the least amount of overt security. This method assumes that, by living in a community, the counterinsurgent will receive any required security from the community itself. At a minimum, the embedded civil counterinsurgent could be trained in basic survival skills, including

the use of weapons. The challenge is that, if something goes wrong, the embedded civil counterinsurgent is on his or her own and could be extremely vulnerable.

Mobile. In the mobile strategy, the civil counterinsurgent can engage beneficiaries in their home environment frequently or infrequently, depending on the visits required to complete the activity (e.g., primary education requires more frequent interaction than vaccinations). This does not develop as familiar a relationship as is nurtured in the embedded strategy, but it does foster a relationship of commitment. This strategy demonstrates to the beneficiary that the civil counterinsurgent is dedicated and will leave secure zones and government buildings to support the beneficiary. This strategy gives the civil counterinsurgent the flexibility to execute engagements as necessary.

Development Benefits and Challenges. The challenge to this strategy is that it is time-intensive and usually incurs travel costs. Also, making multiple visits to a population to conduct training, provide services, or deliver materials provides the insurgent with multiple targets of opportunity to disrupt the engagement and make the civil counterinsurgent look incompetent. This strategy does not always have to be executed routinely and permits flexibility and the option to make visits as needed or only when required. A challenge in implementing this strategy infrequently is that it does not inherently establish a sense of regularity. Particularly in our rule-of-law example, one benefit that the population needs most is constant reinforcement of laws, regulations, and nonviolent dispute resolutions. The reality is that some types of activities are more developmentally sound if not delivered via the mobile method; however, security concerns create a trade-off consideration for the counterinsurgent.

Connectors and Dividers. Bringing delivery directly to the people can be a connector between the population and the government because it provides benefits to the population with minimal obligation. The frequency also provides a sense of continuity and can foster faith in the reliability of the government (or the implementing counterinsurgent). However, interruptions in provision can decrease perceptions of the counterinsurgents' ability to perform, and this can diminish perceptions of the government's effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach. The

counterinsurgent can lose the support of the population quickly, resulting in frustration if infrequent delivery results in inadequate services to meet a particular need. Infrequent and frequent delivery methods have similar opportunities to connect or divide; however, to the maximum extent possible, frequency of delivery required to provide a service (benefit) must be weighed against the risks (costs) associated with setting a routine and regular delivery pattern.

Security Benefits and Challenges. Regular visits with a particular pattern can make both the civil counterinsurgent and beneficiaries easy targets. As mentioned earlier, infrequent visits can result in incomplete or inadequate service delivery and potential loss of popular support.

Central. Under a centralized strategy, the beneficiaries both regularly and selectively leave their particular "safe" areas to interact with the civil counterinsurgent. This shifts the burden and risks of transportation and travel from the counterinsurgent to the beneficiary.

Development Benefits and Challenges. Centralized distribution is less labor-intensive for the civil counterinsurgent, but it decreases the amount of time that beneficiaries spend in a particular context. This can mean that government officials spend much of their time in one small portion of their area of jurisdiction, or outside it completely if the security situation warrants, thus decreasing their overall effectiveness with regard to their function and legitimacy in the eyes of the population.

Connectors and Dividers. To the extent that subpopulations of the beneficiaries are not able to access the goods or services, this implementation approach can be seen as favoring certain subpopulations and can further exacerbate existing tensions. On the other hand, the approach can also provide valuable networking opportunities and greater cohesion among various levels of government officials or civil society members. Shifting the burden of travel to the beneficiaries may also restrict which beneficiaries are able to participate, based on competing time demands, health, and financial resources. The beneficiaries who are most in need of the good or service may not be able to access it.

Security Benefits and Challenges. By requiring beneficiaries to travel to the services, whether infrequently or as often as required, the security burden is shifted from the counterinsurgent to the population.

Distance. Technology has expanded the counterinsurgent's ability to implement and monitor a variety of activities for a beneficiary group without being physically present. Using various multimedia or communication options, such as telephones, the Internet, radios, television, audio- and videotapes, or digital recordings, activities requiring information sharing or knowledge transfer can be conducted from a distance.

Benefits and Challenges from a Development Perspective. The benefits of using distance methods include the ability to reach a vast audience beyond just the beneficiaries at minimal relative costs. Some distance methods require simple infrastructure, such as hardware and software. However, many of the methods can be mass-produced and reused, helping the information reach a beneficiary group over time as well.

The challenges of this approach include not knowing whether the targeted group is receiving the information, as well as lack of interaction with beneficiaries to ensure that they understand the information and the possibility that the information could be changed before reaching the entire beneficiary population. Some distance methods, including telephone, radio, the Internet, and television, require a significant level of basic infrastructure, such as towers, repeater stations, and possibly the use of satellites.

Connectors and Dividers. Creating a shared experience among a large beneficiary group will establish an immediate connector in that group and possibly beyond, if others are reached. If the disseminated information helps create shared positive values in a society, it can further increase connectors.

The largest divider that this method creates is the physical separation of the counterinsurgent from the beneficiary, and the negative implications for information flow back to the counterinsurgent. If information can be manipulated before it reaches the beneficiary group, information about the beneficiary group and service provision could also be manipulated before it gets back to the counterinsurgent, or if the information is not culturally informed, it could create dividers among the population and between the population and the government.

Security Benefits and Challenges. Distance is perhaps the easiest method to secure because the counterinsurgent can develop the information in safety and security. The challenge is ensuring that the required infrastructure is secured.

Implementer

In addition to the focus area, the types of activities, and the implementation approach, the final component of the civil COIN measure is who implements the activity. Often, there is not one sole implementer for a given civil COIN measure. There is generally a lead actor, however. These implementers can be divided into three general categories: indigenous civil, foreign civil, and military actors.

Indigenous Civil. Indigenous civil actors include the indigenous government, NGOs, civil society groups, and communities. The perceived effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of governance are directly correlated with the level of involvement of the indigenous government. As such, it is important to ensure that the indigenous government is as heavily involved as it is capable of being. The caveat is that if the government is unable to effectively implement activities, these "failed" efforts may actually further undermine its perceived effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach. The community is the decisionmaker when assessing whether the government is failing. External counterinsurgents cannot make that determination.

In these situations, other indigenous civil actors may be able to fill the void. It is important to ensure that engaging nongovernment actors does not inadvertently undermine the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of governance by creating parallel structures. One method of ensuring that this does not happen is to continually include the government in a supervisory or advisory role until it has developed to the point of taking direct control. In addition, the motivations and potential favoritism of other indigenous civil actors should be considered. To the extent that a civil society group or indigenous NGO has a particular political agenda or ethnic makeup, its involvement in implementation could actually increase societal tensions. The same is true for engaging private indigenous enterprises.

Foreign Civil. If appropriate indigenous civil actors are not present, there may be a role for foreign civil actors. These actors could include international organizations (e.g., United Nations agencies or the World Bank), international NGOs, private enterprises, and foreign governments. Efforts by external actors should—to the greatest extent possible—include measures to increase the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of indigenous governance. This may include a partnership activity, or the inclusion of training and capacity-building with direct service delivery. When the benefits of more effective—and immediate—service delivery are determined to outweigh the costs of relying on indigenous civil actors, there may be a need for direct service provision (e.g., in response to a humanitarian crisis that overwhelms indigenous capacity). These efforts should still seek to engage indigenous actors to the greatest extent possible and could include a transition strategy.

Indigenous and Foreign Military. The third category of implementers is the military, including indigenous and foreign (or coalition) military forces. The implementation of civil COIN measures by these actors should not be undertaken without serious consideration of the immediate and long-term effects. In many insurgent environments—particularly those in which security actors have operated as a state within a state—the role of the military will be redefined and limited in scope. Permitting a military actor to play an active role in civilian sectors could send the wrong message. In certain environments, the military may be relied upon for civil COIN activities. For example, in nonpermissive environments, the military may be the only actor that can access communities. Similarly, the military's logistical capabilities can enable it to reach areas that other actors may not be able to access. The military should always be the last option after all others have been exhausted.

Conclusion

This methodological framework illustrates the breadth of considerations that should be factored into any civil COIN initiative. The

proposed framework builds on existing conflict assessments by using a counterinsurgency-specific lens and breaking down proposed counterinsurgency measures into three basic components (type of activity, implementation approach, and implementers), each of which presents different development and security strengths and weaknesses. By treating the assessment systematically in terms of processes and outcomes and by identifying the operating environment, focus-area needs, types of activities, implementation approaches, and implementers, practitioners operating in dangerous environments can reach balanced decisions based on their priorities. In every case, enhancement of the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of governance is *the* overarching goal.

The three case studies to which we now turn illustrate how this framework can be applied. We concentrate on Process and Outcome 1 (assess the operating environment and identify civil COIN focus areas) before addressing focus-area needs and the related civil COIN measures jointly (Process and Outcome 2).[3] This structure allows us to address the following questions:

- How important is civil COIN to eliminating popular grievances or removing insurgent opportunities for success?
- Based on the answers to this question, what areas of civil COIN should be priorities?
- How, in practical terms, should civil COIN be conducted?

In *Reconstruction Under Fire: Unifying Civil and Military Counterinsurgency*, the results of this analysis were used to show how these civil COIN priorities should affect security decisions. In that volume, we also provided recommendations for how to make the most of both civil and security resources. Those discussions are not reproduced here. However, it worth emphasizing that each case study includes a scenario in which civil measures to meet public needs and gain popular support could have helped weaken the insurgency, but

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[3]   Our analysis includes a cursory discussion of Process 2 (assess the focus-area needs), because this activity depends heavily on accurate and up-to-date information from the field. Given the resource constraints of this study, we were not able to collect extensive information on each of the focus areas.

violence endangered and restricted civil COIN. At the same time, the diversity of focus areas and approaches to addressing the challenges they present indicates strongly that there is not one "best" strategy.[4] The value in these case studies, then, is primarily the fact that they illustrate with real-world examples how the approach could be applied to identify civil COIN priorities, as well as to develop options for delivering civil COIN that include what is to be done, how it should be done, and who should do it. These options, in turn, provide the input for the discussions of security decisions and the configuration of the overall effort in *Reconstruction Under Fire: Unifying Civil and Military Counterinsurgency.*

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[4] Our assessments for these case studies are largely desk-based and time-sensitive, and we remind readers that the final decisions on project implementation in insurgent environments will always be subject to changing political and social conditions and can be effectively assessed only by practitioners on the ground.

Nangarhar Case Study

Process 1: Assess Operating Environment

Background

Nangarhar province is located in eastern Afghanistan and serves as a regional hub of trade and commerce—both legal and illegal—due to its strategic location between Kabul and Pakistan. It provides the only regional platform for higher education, vocational training, and advanced health care in the east. Its population's historic support for insurgent actors ranging from Osama bin Laden to mujahedin groups fighting the Soviets makes it noteworthy from a security perspective. Additionally, its location as a key supply route from Pakistan to Kabul has made it a desirable military target for any group seeking power in Afghanistan. The population's option to grow poppy, and the Taliban's increasing ties to the poppy trade, is of critical interest to the government in Kabul and the larger international community. In addition, the political balance among old warlords, new political players, and transferred power brokers makes this province worthy of study.

General History

As the primary route between Kabul and western Pakistan, Nangarhar has always served as a critical junction for those wanting to control Afghanistan. Its capital, Jalalabad, has housed posts for nearly every military entity operating in the east for centuries. Many of Afghanistan's supplies come via Jalalabad; therefore, whoever controls the city is able to significantly influence the power brokers in Kabul.

One of the more famous historical Jalalabad moments occurred in 1842, when 16,000 British and Indian troops with their servants, wives, and children left Kabul for Jalalabad in retreat from the failed occupation of Afghanistan. Afghans repeatedly attacked the column throughout the march from Kabul, and only two groups, consisting of 15 and 65 men, respectively, escaped the Kabul gorge alive. The larger group stopped in Gandamak, 35 miles from Jalalabad, and was attacked by the local tribes. There were no survivors. The smaller group entered a village outside Jalalabad, only to be slaughtered while eating food provided by Afghans offering hospitality. Only one man, the surgeon William Brydon, survived by fleeing the attack. One week after leaving Kabul, he rode to the safety of the British garrison in Jalalabad.[1]

Afghanistan enjoyed relative peace during the reign of King Zahir Shah (1933–1973), which ended when his cousin overthrew him in a bloodless coup. Thus began the first of four distinct eras of conflict and war in Afghanistan: communist (1978–1992),[2] mujahedin (1992–1996), Taliban (1996–2001), and the present (2001–today). Nangarhar played an important role in each era.

The Soviets established a military base in Jalalabad and controlled the Jalalabad airport, where on September 26, 1986, a mujahedin soldier fired the first Stinger missile in warfare. "Engineer Ghaffar" and two other fighters successfully struck down three Mi-24D helicopters.[3] This was a tipping point in the war against the Soviets, because the Afghans finally had the firepower to fight the helicopters that terrorized them nearly everywhere. Within three years, the Soviets retreated from Afghanistan, leaving the Afghan communist regime to survive on its own. When the communists fell in 1992, various mujahedin parties fought to fill the remaining power vacuum.

During the mujahedin era, two forces that dominated Nangarhar (and remain relevant today) were Hezb-e-Islami Gulbuddin

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[1]   Hopkirk, 1992, pp. 257–269.

[2]   Dauoud, King Zahir Shah's cousin who overthrew him, ruled from 1973 to 1978, when he was overthrown by a communist-backed regime.

[3]   Coll, 2004, p. 149.

(HIG)[4] and Hezb-e-Islami Khales (HIK). HIG was established in 1975 by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar to oppose the growing communist movement in the capital. After the 1978 coup placed a procommunist leader in Kabul, HIG fled to Peshawar, Pakistan, for safe haven and financial support from the Pakistani government.[5] Hekmatyar remained powerful in Afghanistan throughout the mujahedin era, even becoming prime minister briefly in 1993.

In 1979, three brothers from the politically powerful Arsala family, Haji Din Mohammed, Haji Abdul Qadir, and Abdul Haq, joined Yunis Khales when he broke from Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's HIG to form a new faction of HIK.[6] HIK operated out of Nangarhar because Khales was from the Khogiani tribe based in Chaparhar district. After the communist regime collapsed, HIK gained control of Jalalabad, with Haji Qadir serving as the governor of Nangarhar.[7] While HIK controlled Nangarhar, it influenced the region through the Jalalabad *shura*, a group of warlords from different factions that jointly controlled the east.

In May 1996, Osama bin Laden was greeted by the Jalalabad *shura* when he arrived at the airport from Sudan.[8] The *shura* gave him safe haven and land for training camps. The Taliban took control of Jalalabad in August 1996, forcing the *shura* to flee to Pakistan. Bin Laden supported the Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan and helped the group pay for the loyalty of those commanders standing between Jalalabad and Kabul.[9] Back in Jalalabad, the Taliban took over the former Soviet bases, from which they controlled eastern Afghanistan.

After the September 11 attacks, Abdul Haq from the Arsala family tried to foment rebellion against the Taliban in Nangarhar. He was captured in the Hisarak district and later executed by the Taliban.

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[4] This group is known as either "HIH" or "HIG."

[5] B. Rubin, 2002, pp. 83–84.

[6] Goodson, 2001, p. 62.

[7] Goodson, 2001, p. 72.

[8] Coll, 2004, p. 9.

[9] Coll, 2004, p. 332.

Fighting ensued, with some of the most serious in the Tora Bora section of the Spin Ghar, or "white mountains," which line the province's southern border. This was the mountain chain through which many Taliban and Al Qaeda members escaped into Pakistan.

After the Taliban were ousted in 2001, three power brokers fought for control of Jalalabad. The first was Haji Qadir, the HIK-affiliated former Nangarhar governor who was forced to flee when the Taliban took the city. Qadir was reinstated as the governor of Nangarhar under Hamid Karzai's interim administration and, soon after, took on the additional job as one of Karzai's vice presidents. In July 2002, he was assassinated in Kabul, and the killer was never found.[10] His brother, Haji Din Mohammed, then became the governor of Nangarhar province.

The second power broker was Hazrat Ali, a commander from the small Pashai ethnic group of northern Nangarhar, who was aligned to the Northern Alliance during the Taliban era. Due to this affiliation, he was championed by U.S. Special Operations Command, which was looking for a non-Pashtun partner to help gain control of Jalalabad and fight Al Qaeda in Nangarhar. Ali was the first power broker to enter Jalalabad after the Taliban retreat, and he claimed the governorship. The interim Afghan government did not want him as governor, however, and instead offered him the position of regional security chief. Ali accepted, then became the police chief, and in 2005 was elected to Parliament.

The third person seeking power was Haji Zaman, an enemy or partner of Qadir, depending on whether they were in a direct power contest or jointly fighting Ali's ascendancy in Nangarhar. When the Taliban first left Jalalabad, Zaman was nominally in charge of the military as a corps commander. Due in large part to Hazrat Ali's lobbying of Northern Alliance partners in Kabul, however, Zaman was removed from the position. Ali continued to push for Zaman's removal from Nangarhar and blamed him for Osama bin Laden's escape. Zaman

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[10] Clover and Despeignes, 2002.

eventually fled to Pakistan and is thought by some members of the Northern Alliance to be behind Haji Qadir's murder.[11]

Zaman is thought to be operating on the Pakistani side of the border, mainly in the Khogiani area, but little is known of his activities or whereabouts. In 2005, Haji Din Mohammed was removed as governor of Nangarhar and replaced by Gul Agha Sherzai, a warlord from Kandahar, who, as of spring 2010, remains governor of Nangarhar. Haji Qadir's son, Haji Zahir, was removed as the chief of border police in 2006. As discussed later in this chapter (in the section "Threat Analysis"), Hekmatyar is still operating in Nangarhar.

It is important to recognize the influence of three main sources of revenue in this province: poppy crops, illegal re-export, and customs duty extraction. Understanding their importance helps explain the power structure and brokers.

Regional and Neighborhood Issues

Nangarhar is a border province adjacent to Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). The FATA territory consists of seven independent agencies that have a unique colonial-era relationship defined in the Frontier Crimes Regulations. The agencies act mostly independently of Islamabad, allowing the tribes to manage the governance of the area. The relationship of the Pakistani government and the tribal leaders is maintained through a political agent assigned by the government and federal representatives from the FATA on the National Council.[12]

Nangarhar shares a porous, disputed border with the Mohmend, Khyber, and Kurram agencies. The Afghan-Pakistan border, commonly referred to as the Durand line, in reference to the British representative who demarcated it, is not formally recognized by the Afghan government or by many FATA Pashtuns. The Durand line was created in 1893 as a border between British-controlled India and the territory of the Afghan ruler at the time, Abdur Rahman Shah. With the partition of India in 1947, the Durand line became the Afghan-Pakistan border,

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[11] Glasser, 2002.

[12] Public Broadcasting Service, undated.

despite complaints by the Afghan government that the agreement was signed under duress. The agreement expired after 100 years, erasing Pakistan's de facto western border.[13] Pakistan still maintains that the border is legitimate, but the Afghan government does not agree.

Villagers in the Nangarhari border districts of Lalpur, Goshta, and Mohmend identify as Pakistani or Afghan, depending on the circumstances. Relationships across the southern border of Nangarhar are strong, but the enormous mountain range dividing the two countries creates a physical border that makes choosing a Pakistani over Afghan identity more difficult.

Pakistani rupees are the preferred currency in Jalalabad's markets, although there was a major effort in 2005 to only accept the afghani. Due to 30 years of war, many Nangarharis resettled in Peshawar, the closest Pakistani city to Jalalabad. With the Taliban's expulsion, many Nangarharis returned to rebuild and find work but kept their families in Peshawar until they were positive that peace was sustainable, and many continue to do so. The cultural, familial, and economic ties across the Nangarhar-FATA border are historically strong and remain so today.

Inside Afghanistan, Nangarhar provides various support structures for the four eastern provinces of Nangarhar, Laghman, Kunar, and Nuristan. This is largely due to economic and geographic realities. Nuristan, the northernmost province of the eastern region, is divided by two mountain ranges that require residents to drive via Nangarhar to meet with those on the other side of the province. The roads in all three provinces enter Nangarhar en route to Kabul. Jalalabad serves as the hub for regional and local commerce, with large markets ranging from gold and DVD players to produce and marble. Additionally, Nangarhar has a large university and two hospitals, the only options for advanced education and health care in the region.

Internal Geography

Nangarhar is approximately the size of Delaware. It is divided into 22 nationally recognized districts and one unofficial district, Sping-

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[13] Sidhu, 1999.

har, which is recognized by the provincial government. The southern border is lined by the huge Spin Ghar mountain range, which provides a natural geographic barrier to Pakistan and also houses multiple passages used to smuggle goods and persons across the border. The most notorious part of the Spin Ghar range is a section called Tora Bora, where U.S. Special Forces and Northern Alliance fighters have frequently fought the Taliban, who use the rugged terrain for sanctuary. (Figure 4.1 shows the districts in the province.)

Heading north from the Spin Gar mountains, the province turns into plains that are fed by two powerful rivers, the Kabul and the Kunar, which converge just west of Jalalabad. The land on either side of the river is considered some of the most fertile in Afghanistan (Nangarhar was once considered the breadbasket of the country). The water in the Kunar River has the potential to supply power and irrigate several mini-deserts in Laghman and Nangarhar provinces. The district of Darinur, which makes up the northern tip of Nangarhar, is also incredibly mountainous and remote.

Figure 4.1
Map of Nangarhar Province

SOURCE: Adapted from Development Alternatives, Inc., 2006, p. 17.
RAND MG870/1-4.1

Culture

There are two ethnic groups in Nangarhar. Pashtuns make up the bulk of the province, and Pashai are a minority group located mostly in the northern districts of Darinur and Kuz Kunar. Within the Pashtun ethnic group, there are four large tribes: Mohmend, Shinwari, Khogiani, and Ahmadzai. The tribal system in Afghanistan exists as a survival mechanism rooted at a local level that enables the population to live within a rule-bound society unreliant on a functional central government. It is a serious impediment to the notions of the nation-state and democracy. The past three decades of war have damaged the system, but it remains the country's most functional governance structure at the subprovincial level. Male tribal leaders manage decision-making in the tribal society.[14] This has significant implications in the Afghan government's goal of extending its reach and power. Actions taken by the government without tribal support create an opportunity for those who oppose government influence in the region.

Other major stakeholders in the traditional governance structure are the mullah imams (religious leaders). None of the tribal figures are as important as religious leaders when it comes to judicial issues. The relationships between tribal and religious leaders determine the power equilibrium in a given location, and this balance differs from one community to the next. Generally, in the south and eastern parts of the country, the role of tribal leaders is stronger than elsewhere.

In Nangarhar, the Shinwari and Khogiani tribal areas are the most difficult for the government to establish itself. First, they they are two of the province's most remote areas along the southern border with Pakistan. The Shinwaris live in districts comprising central and eastern Nangarhar below the Kabul river: Chaparhar, Dih Bala, Rodat, Achin,

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[14] Tribal governance is complicated, and there are several stakeholders, including Maliks, Kahns, and other tribal leaders. The word *Malik* comes from the word *Mulk*, meaning property. Traditionally, Maliks were property-holders. Khans had similar attributes. The word *Khan* comes from the word *Khwan*—the cloth on which Afghans put food during meals. Those capable of arranging feasts for villages were considered Khans. The titles have changed somewhat in their meanings but are still generally attributed to those with considerable land and those who are rich at the village level. Apart from Maliks and Khans, there are tribal leaders who have their own sources of power, although most of these leaders also happen to be Maliks or Khans.

Nazyan, Shinwar, and Dur Baba. The Khogiani tribe lives mostly in the southwest districts of Pachir Wa Agam, Khogiani, and Sherzad. Due to the distance from the capital and the historically poor transportation and communication infrastructure, the government's presence in these areas has been limited. For example, to date, the government has been unable to stop Shinwaris from treating women as market commodities.

Second, perhaps due to their geographic isolation, both tribes are fiercely independent. The Shinwaris wanted to break away from Nangarhar after the Taliban left because they felt that the Arsala-led government in Jalalabad did not have Shinwari interests at heart.[15] They failed but nonetheless tend to operate independently of the province. They welcome government services, such as schools, roads, and clinics, but otherwise want the government to leave them alone. Their lands are the largest poppy-growing area of Nangarhar, and most opium-processing labs operate in these districts. Due to the government's crackdown on poppy cultivation, the Shinwaris feel targeted and have resisted eradication attempts.[16] Hence, many U.S. and Afghan National Army operations take place in Shinwari tribal areas. Civilian deaths resulting from some of these operations have caused major protests by the Shinwari population.[17] The tension between Shinwaris and the government existed from the inception of the new government and continues today. As Rudyard Kipling once wrote, "You can never tame the heart of a Shinwari."

The Khogiani tribe is much less united than the Shinwari, and in addition to being the tribe of many insurgent actors, it has internal conflicts that complicate the operating environment for government, nongovernmental aid organizations, and International Security Assistance Force troops.[18] Amin al-Haq, who was listed as Osama Bin Laden's bodyguard and doctor and arrested in Pakistan in January 2008,

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[15] "Afghan President, Tribal Representatives from East Discuss Security," 2006.

[16] Interview with a U.S. civilian working on poppy eradication in Nangarhar, May 6, 2008.

[17] "Locals to Stage Protest After Coalition Troops Killed an Afghan in East," 2007.

[18] Phone interview with a U.S. NGO worker in Nangarhar, May 27, 2008.

is a notorious Khogiani insurgent.[19] In addition, the son of former mujahedin leader Yunis Khales recently established an insurgent group called the Tora Bora Military Front (TBMF). In August 2007, there was a major assault in Pachir Wa Agam against the Taliban-supported TBMF. The Taliban struck back by attacking the Khogiani government center in April 2008, killing 19 (including the district administrator) and wounding 41,[20] opening a new front in the Khogiani area of Nangarhar.

Economy

Nangarhar's two rivers create a large fertile plain that is excellent for growing crops year-round in three planting seasons. Once considered the breadbasket of the country, as of 2008, the agriculture sector is in desperate need of reconstruction. One important aspect of irrigation in Nangarhar is the fact that the Kunar River (the province's largest) does not irrigate 50 percent of the province because it arrives in Nangarhar on the western side. Extending the river to the other side of the province would greatly increase the amount of arable land and, hence, agricultural productivity. Land shortages are a primary outcome of the increasing population over the past three decades, along with overuse and reduced productivity of existing arable lands. Unemployment, a prominent cause for young men joining insurgency groups, is primarily an outcome of this land shortage. Roads, canals, and karezes are in disrepair after 30 years of neglect due to the war. There is minimal local technical expertise due to the exodus of skilled farmers during the years of fighting. Pakistani fruit supplies the local markets, making local competition difficult. Seed stocks, agricultural methods, and technology are outdated due to lack of interaction with the outside world for nearly a generation.

Nangarhari farmers turn to poppy growing because of the many challenges described here, as well as the lack of law and order and the economic security acquired through the poppy industry. Poppy is easily grown, transported, and stored, and they bring in significantly more

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[19] "Report: Bin Laden Bodyguard Arrested in Pakistan," 2008.

[20] Wafa and Gall, 2008.

revenue than any other crop on the market. Nangarhar was one of the country's top poppy producers for years, until 2005 when the tribes agreed not to grow in response to the newly elected president's request. Most poppy farmers use the intercropping method, meaning that the poppy crop is interspersed with crops that families use for sustenance throughout the year, such as wheat, nuts, and fruit. Opium processing also occurs in Nangarhar, mostly in the Shinwari and Khogiani tribal areas.

Nangarhar is an epicenter of business and trade for eastern Afghanistan. According to recent statistics, trade with Pakistan constitutes 83 percent of Afghanistan's total licit trade volume. The province is one of the primary licit trade routes with Pakistan; therefore, most goods entering or exiting Afghanistan for Pakistan go through Jalalabad. Illicit trade also flows to Pakistan, sometimes through Nangarhar. Of 89 crossing points from Afghanistan into Pakistan, 14 are official and the rest are illegal. The vast majority of the illegal crossing points are in the eastern and southeastern provinces of the country. Many of the goods end up in the downtown Jalalabad marketplace, where gold, computers, or live chickens are easily purchased. The Afghan Investment Support Agency is building an industrial park east of Jalalabad along the main highway to help foster the region's economic growth.

Nangarhar also has mineral wealth, mainly marble in the south of the province and gems in the east. The marble industry usually takes the large slabs extracted in Nangarhari mines to Pakistan for processing because of the lack of available power in the province. There are small marble factories on the outskirts of Jalalabad, however, that turn slabs of marble into small chips that are used in flooring throughout the country.

Context Analysis

Afghanistan ranks seventh on the Fund for Peace Failed States Index, indicating that its social, economic, and political situation is one of

the most challenging in the world.[21] According to the World Bank's Governance Indicators for Afghanistan, it has remained on or below the lowest 10th percentile rank for each of its indicators: voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, and control of corruption.[22] Nangarhar is one of the most developed provinces in the country, but the nation's larger challenges have not escaped its citizens.

Social Indicators

Throughout Afghanistan, there are mounting demographic pressures tied to an increased growth rate, youth bulge, the return of refugees from camps in Iran and Pakistan, and significant numbers of IDPs.[23] In 2007, nearly 200,000 people returned to Nangarhar from Pakistani refugee camps, making it the second-largest returnee province in the country after Kabul.[24] Based on anecdotal evidence, Jalalabad has seen a sharp increase in inhabitants since the collapse of the Taliban. Young Nangarharis moved to the city hoping for livelihoods that they could not have on their family farms—another indicator of the deteriorating ratio of land to population. In the southern part of the province along the Spin Ghar range, the freezing temperatures and the inaccessibility of provincial roads during winter create acute humanitarian needs. With rising temperatures come flash floods that have destroyed valuable farmland and taken lives among the population.

Economic Indicators

Uneven development between rural and urban areas exists throughout most of Afghanistan, resulting in imbalanced income distribution. Despite the massive influx of foreign aid and economic growth, 90 percent of the population earned an average of $130 per month in

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[21] Fund for Peace, 2009.

[22] World Bank, 2009a.

[23] Fund for Peace, 2007.

[24] "Return of Refugees from Pakistan Halted for Winter Break," 2007.

2007.[25] That income is extremely low compared to other countries in the region. For example, Pakistan's national per capita income is $500 per month. In the FATA, the poorest area of Pakistan, it is less than half the national average,[26] and yet it is still over $100 more than across the border in Afghanistan. Another factor complicating the disparity of economic wealth is the influence of wealthy warlords, many of whom are believed to use their positions of power for personal gain.[27] Nangarhar is one of Afghanistan's wealthier provinces due to its fertile land, its location as a transportation and business hub, and its diverse industries. However, reports of border and customs police exacting taxes along the transportation routes in the service of government-employed power brokers undermines government credibility. There have been informal reports to U.S. forces that the positions of customs chief and border police chief cannot be obtained without paying a hefty bribe, a practice thought to have existed for decades.[28]

Political Indicators

The Afghan government's political legitimacy receded between 2006 and 2007 due to a combination of escalating Taliban attacks and an increased perception of government corruption.[29] Nangarhar is the exception in many ways. First, Governor Sherzai has worked to improve basic infrastructure in the province. He is seen as an effective politician, channeling the frustrations of the population to keep the province calm even during the most challenging times. Although there are concerns about his corruption, most Nangarharis feel that the governor is

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[25] According to the 2004 United Nations *Common Country Assessment for the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan* (p. 42), a farmer can bring in $4,000 per year on the same plot of land that would yield $500 per year for a legal crop.

[26] International Crisis Group, 2006b.

[27] Fund for Peace, 2007.

[28] In 2006, the Jalalabad Provincial Reconstruction Team received an unofficial report claiming that the customs office chief had paid $15,000 for his post and that the border police chief earned up to $50,000 per day in illegal taxes at the border. Additionally, when the customs chief was replaced in 2008, revenue to the central government increased by 40 percent. These instances are indicators—though not conclusive proof—of corruption.

[29] Fund for Peace, 2007.

working hard for them and therefore support him as the representative of the central government. Additionally, the police in Nangarhar seem to have fewer difficulties than police in most of the country. There are rarely reports of police not receiving pay, and they have had success in poppy eradication and other normal police functions. Finally, until 2008, the Taliban did not specifically focus on the province. There were incidents of fuel tanks burning and skirmishes with the Afghan army and NATO forces in some border areas, but, overall, Nangarhar managed to avoid much of the turmoil that plagued the south and southeast of the country. Aside from the Taliban's announcement that it intended to open a new front in Nangarhar, the political challenges primarily result from tribes that do not want government involvement in their activities—namely the Shinwari and Khogiani. These tribes do not want to actively overthrow the government and welcome development provided that it benefits the population. However, they want to manage their own tribal lands as they see fit, and this creates friction in the province.

Threat Analysis

When this case study was written, there were two major insurgent groups operating in Nangarhar: HIG and the Taliban. For the purposes of this study, we focused only on the Taliban because it is the larger of the two and presents a more significant threat to the stability of Nangarhar as of this writing. Criminals of various sorts pose threats as well, but their consideration was outside the scope of our study. Of course, those responsible for addressing threats would need to take all of these factors into account.

Insurgent Ends

The Taliban's motivations are political. They want to return to power and govern Afghanistan. This statement does not take into account the political motivations of Taliban supporters, such as Al Qaeda and elements in Pakistan, which have significant influence on the Taliban's political behavior.

Insurgent Leaders

The Taliban has publicly named three commanders to head the group's efforts in Nangarhar. The first is Anwarol Haq Mujahid, the son of now-deceased Yunis Khales, the famous mujahedin commander who broke away from Gulbuddin Hekmatyar to establish HIK. HIK operated for 30 years in eastern Afghanistan as a major mujahedin group fighting for political gain but disintegrated due to factional infighting after the Taliban's fall and is no longer a violent force in the region. Mujahid made news in February 2007 by announcing his leadership of a new anti-U.S. resistance group in Nangarhar, the TBMF. Originally the commander of HIK after his father's death, Mujahid shifted focus to this new organization. This is important because the TBMF claims to be part of the Taliban, a relationship that HIK never shared.[30] The group is headquartered in Jalalabad but mostly operates in the Khogiani tribal areas of Pachir Wa Agam and Khogiani. TBMF is not purely Afghan; there is speculation that Pakistanis from the Kashmiri-focused movement Al-Badr Mojahedin have joined TBMF, bringing with them fighting experience from Kashmir.[31]

A March 2008 report claims that the Taliban installed Ustad Yasir to open the Nangarhar front.[32] Yasir is best known as one of the five Taliban commanders released as part of the negotiation for the freedom of Italian journalist Daniele Mastrogiacomo in 2007.[33] Around the same time, a Canadian paper reported that Maulvi Qadir was the Taliban commander for eastern Afghanistan.[34] The exact relationship between and among these commanders is not known.

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[30] "New Taliban Group Named Tora Bora Said Fighting in Eastern Afghanistan," 2007.

[31] "Some 50 Insurgents Killed in Afghan East Sweep: Local Officials," 2007.

[32] Shahzad, 2008a.

[33] Fisher, 2007.

[34] G. Smith, 2008.

Insurgent Ways

A March 2008 report claimed that the Taliban planned to open a new front in Nangarhar via the Khyber Agency in the FATA, Pakistan. Historically, the Taliban have never gained a foothold in this area, and they spent much of 2007 working to win over the population.[35] There is no doubt that the Taliban committed to increasing operations there, starting in spring 2008. The first example was the March 24, 2008, attack on 25 fuel trucks in the Khyber Agency destined for Bagram Air Field.[36] Since 2004, the group has claimed responsibility for destroying fuel trucks along the Torkham-Kabul highway running through Nangarhar, but it has attacked only one or two at a time.[37] Despite Taliban efforts to gain total freedom of movement, however, the group's primary Khyber Agency sponsor betrayed it in April 2008, and many members were arrested by Pakistani troops.[38]

In Nangarhar itself, the Taliban's strategy is to slowly gain a foothold district by district, just as it has in Afghanistan's southern provinces through cross-border infiltration. The Taliban target remote outposts that can be overrun, taking government officials hostage for funds or as bargaining chips in future negotiations. The group does not have to take over and hold areas of ground to win, instead focusing on nuisance operations that make the government look ineffective or illegitimate. If the Taliban follow the same pattern of behavior, they will target the most remote parts of the province—namely the Shinwari and Khogiani tribal areas.

The Taliban use violence and fear to establish control. For example, they will drop "night letters" in villages, threatening the population with violence if it supports the Afghan government. They kill key community and religious leaders who support the government,[39] and

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[35] Shahzad, 2008a.

[36] Associated Press, 2008.

[37] "Insurgents Set Ablaze Two Fuel Tankers in Eastern Afghan District," 2006.

[38] Shahzad, 2008b.

[39] Shahzad, 2008c.

they also directly attack government personnel, as demonstrated by the April 2008 suicide attack at the district center in Khogiani province.

Insurgent Means

The Taliban is a well-resourced organization, but its funding sources are not openly known. Some of its operating revenues derive from the poppy industry in southern Afghanistan, where it forces "taxes" on local farmers in areas where it has freedom of movement.[40] The level to which the poppy-related income funds the Taliban's movements is publicly debated, with some analysts arguing that it is not truly significant.[41] Whatever the case, combined with other income sources, the money allows the Taliban to procure readily available weapons in Pakistani markets.[42] On the human resource side, the Taliban recruits from Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan, from within Afghanistan, and from the ranks of foreign fighters.[43] Recruitment can be by force, using ideological arguments or simply by paying young men to fight. It has also created strategic partnerships with existing insurgency groups, such as the TBMF.

Insurgency-Related Threats

The single greatest threat to counterinsurgency efforts in Nangarhar is the poppy industry. Nangarhar was historically one of the country's largest poppy-producing areas, but during the 2004 planting season, Nangarhar citizens volunteered not to plant poppy at the request of President Karzai, resulting in a 96-percent drop in cultivation for the 2005 harvest season.[44] Although production has grown slightly in the intervening years, the 2008 crop appeared to be as small as that of 2005.[45] The close relationship between poppy cultivation and the

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[40] Walsh, 2008.

[41] Skehan, 2007.

[42] Burke, 2007.

[43] Lampert, 2007.

[44] United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2005.

[45] Corsten, 2008.

Taliban in southern Afghanistan has not yet begun in the east. The Taliban may try to develop a protection relationship with Nangarhar farmers, similar to the relationships created in Helmand and Kandahar, by offering to protect the farmland from government eradication in return for poppy profits. Currently, the Afghan government is working to maintain Nangarhar's astoundingly low poppy-production figures and attempting interdiction by destroying labs and arresting traffickers. However, there is a great risk of the Taliban gaining a foothold in the Shinwari and Khogiani areas, which are the province's major poppy-producing areas and also the most remote and independent from the central government.

Outcome 1: Civil COIN Focus Area

There are myriad potential focus areas for civil COIN measures in Nangarhar; however, for the purposes of demonstrating the application of the analytic frameworks, we selected three illustrative focus areas of particular importance. Each relates to an insurgent motivation or an opportunity for insurgents or counterinsurgents. Each focus area will greatly undermine the Taliban's ability to conduct successful operations targeting the government's effectiveness and legitimacy but will also provide hard targets for Taliban strikes.

First, the isolation of the Shinwari and Khogiani tribal areas significantly inhibits the government's access. The lack of all-season roads cuts off portions of the province from governmental influence during the winter and spring. Even when the roads are open, the drive is long and rough, making basic travel and transport of goods very difficult. Construction of asphalt roads in these areas would significantly increase the effectiveness and reach of the government.

The poppy industry in Nangarhar is the single largest challenge to government authority in the province. The second and third focus areas arise from this situation. No crop can compete outright with poppy in terms of cultivation, processing, distribution, or market. Unlike other crops, the value chain for poppy is solid, making the decision to give up poppy cultivation very difficult for farmers. Poppy

takes little water to grow compared to other crops. Unlike most other industries in Nangarhar, such as marble, gems, or carpets, poppy is processed into opium within the province, so value is added before it is exported. The other industries require power that Nangarhar does not possess, so the raw materials are shipped to Pakistan for processing. Opium is easy to transport on terrible roads, because it can be balled up and put into a pocket or cargo area with no concern for damage. Much of the Nangahar's transportation infrastructure is nonasphalt roads that cause bumpy rides and destroy produce. The lack of cold storage facilities, again, means that goods are taken to Pakistan for storage and often resold to Afghans later. Finally, while there is a well-established international market for opium, there is none for basic agricultural products grown in Nangarhar. Two focus areas taken from a long list of possibilities are an industrial park for processing farm and nonfarm goods and increasing high-value, labor-intensive crops that have a basic market in Afghanistan and the neighboring region.

The Afghanistan Investment Support Agency is responsible for managing industrial parks throughout the country, and it is in the process of establishing a large park in Nangarhar. Located 22 kilometers east of Jalalabad on the highway between Pakistan and Kabul, 720 hectares (2.77 square miles) have been identified for the site of the industrial park.[46] The government surveyed the site in spring 2008. Construction of the site is critical to the province's development because it will provide mechanisms for adding value to products inside Nangarhar rather than in Pakistan. It will also provide much-needed jobs to unemployed men.

No crop can compete on the open market with poppy; however, a United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization study claims that horticulture crops "are in a strong position to support food security and the rehabilitation of Afghan rural economy."[47] Horticulture is an excellent alternative due to its labor-intensive nature, providing farm-based labor opportunities to compete with poppy cultivation. Additionally, horticulture is a long-term solution. Orchards are not fiscally produc-

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[46] Afghanistan Investment Support Agency, undated.

[47] United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, 2000.

tive until four to six years after they are established, so any farmer who agrees to move into horticulture is making a long-term commitment to not grow poppy.[48] In the first few years, while the saplings are small, it is still possible to plant poppy using an intercropping method; however, after the trees have grown enough to become productive, they shade the ground, making poppy very difficult to grow. Offering an alternative crop that can provide sustainable income to farmers in addition to labor opportunities is a good option for protecting Nangarhar from the Taliban's exploitation of the poppy industry. Province-wide, the Shinwari and Khogiani tribal areas produce the most poppy and therefore should be targeted for this program. We now examine each of the focus areas in greater detail.

Process and Outcome 2: Assess Focus Areas and Related Civil COIN Measures

Focus Area 1: Roads into Khogiani and Shinwari Tribal Areas

Nangarhar's director of public works, together with Governor Sherzai, led an effort to develop a comprehensive transportation infrastructure throughout Nangarhar. Paving the Jalalabad-Kabul highway was the first priority, followed by linking every district center to the highway via paved roads. As of May 2008, most of the construction and paving had been completed, significantly enhancing the population's ability to move around the province quickly and easily.[49] In the Shinwari and Khogiani tribal areas, no new construction has occurred from the district centers, heading south to the most remote and violent areas of the province. New roads are needed in the six border districts: Sherzad, Khogiani, Pachir Wa Agam, Dih Bala, Achin, and Dur Baba.

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[48] International Foundation of Hope, 2005.

[49] In a 2006 meeting between Governor Sherzai and elders from Khogiani, the elders complained about the lack of roads and development in their district. The governor responded that a year earlier it took them eight hours to come to Jalalabad to complain, but that day it took them only two because of the improved road.

This will be a significant challenge because the Khogiani tribal areas (Sherzad, Khogiani, and Pachir Wa Agam) have been the locations of Taliban attacks on the Afghan government and aid organizations.[50] In 2007, the Taliban announced its intent to open a new front in Nangarhar, and the April 29, 2008, suicide bombing of the Khogiani district center demonstrated that the area is an important battleground.[51] The Shinwari areas are much less dangerous, but the poppy cultivation and harvesting seasons are challenging times due to the population's frustration with eradication and interdiction operations.

Types of Activities

Civil COIN activities for the first Nangarhar focus area under consideration in our study, according the network model discussed in Chapter Three, are as follows:

- *Build or repair nodes:* Multiple facility types are required for road construction, including secure camps where construction personnel must reside due to the remoteness of project sites, secure storage facilities for mobile equipment, and secure facilities for stationary equipment.
- *Build or repair connectors:* Roads are connectors.
- *Deliver goods:* Large-item, long-life goods, such as heavy road equipment, must be delivered to the site when the project begins. Small items, with both long and short life cycles, must be delivered on a semiregular basis. Such goods range from shovels and pickaxes (small item, long life) to food, fuel, water, and other perishables (small item, short life).
- *Provide technical assistance:* Depending on the complexity of the road and the capabilities of the implementing actor, technical assistance may be required to work through challenges.

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[50] "Security Fears Prompt Aid Agencies to Suspend Work in East Afghan District," 2006; "Taliban Claim Responsibility for Killing Senior Officials in Afghan District," 2006.

[51] Wafa and Gall, 2008.

Implementation Approaches

The following implementation approaches, which were outlined in Chapter Three, correspond to the respective activity types.

Build or Repair Nodes: Distributed or Mobile. The construction of housing and machinery-storage facilities can be accomplished through a distributed model, in which the workers live in the facility as they construct it. The other option is a mobile approach, in which workers travel to and from the job site every day until the site is operational. In southern Nangarhar, the distributed model is a more realistic option due to the remoteness of the area, the need to secure the site after groundbreaking occurs, and the opportunity it provides for the construction company to interact with the local community.

Build or Repair Connectors: Distributed or Mobile. In the case of building long sections of road, the only options for implementation are distributed or mobile. The distributed strategy requires that work camps be established near a given section of the road and then moved as the construction progresses. For the mobile strategy, secure living camps can be located near the place where the roadwork is occurring, but this requires the staff to travel from the camp to the road construction or repair location for the day and then return to the camp each night. Depending on where the camp is located along the road, the worksite location may grow farther away as the project nears completion.

Deliver Goods: Distributed or Mobile. Large, long-life goods will require a mobile implementation approach because large machinery is simply not available in this part of the province. The smaller long- and short-life goods, however, can use a distributed model in which the road construction company lives off the local population and market as much as possible. This will help provide direct economic benefits to the communities that will later be served by the road.

Provide Technical Assistance: Mobile or Distance. Since the road must be built using a mobile implementation approach, any technical assistance provided on site will also have to follow that approach. Depending on the level and complexity of the assistance needed, the distance approach is also an option, specifically via telephone. (There is no Internet access in the southern part of the province, though communication infrastructure could be built as part of the project.)

Implementers

All Activities: Indigenous or Foreign Civil Organization. The selection of the implementer for each activity will affect many factors, including security, perceived disparity, and timeliness of the project, thereby influencing the population's perception of the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of the government. At present, the provincial government does not have the capacity to directly undertake road construction of this magnitude; therefore, the project must be outsourced to the private sector. In this focus area, all four types of activities have the same attendant issues and concerns.

Afghan and international road construction companies operating in Nangarhar are capable of implementing the series of activity types associated with road construction. Due to the insecurity of these areas, a company with many foreigners on the ground will have a greater challenge than one using local Afghans, especially if they are from the provincial or tribal area. Afghans believe that much of the donor money destined for the country is being taken by foreign entities that charge far more than Afghans would, live in better conditions, and drive better vehicles. This sense of disparity motivates attacks on NGOs and foreign companies, so any effort enabling development funds to go directly into Afghan hands will benefit a project. However, using local organizations also has drawbacks. There are a limited number of companies that can handle the complexity of this type of roadwork, and they are often overcommitted to other projects, meaning that the roads may not be completed in a timely manner.

Foreign civil organizations tend to be comfortable with Western budgeting and reporting requirements, making them a preferred partner for foreign donors. They also focus on the one project for which they were hired, making the delivery of the project on a given timeline more predictable. On the negative side, they tend to have higher overhead costs than indigenous civil organizations, and because they are foreign, the project will often require more security, which raises costs.

The trade-off is between using a local company that may be overcommitted and less given to modern accounting practices, but has possible ties with the local populace (especially important in remote, dangerous areas), or using a foreign company that abides by West-

ern business practices but is extremely expensive due to overhead and security costs. In Nangarhar, the local entity would be preferable if available; however, the priority of these roads may override the costs of using a foreign organization.

Focus Area 2: Nangarhar Industrial Park (Infrastructure Construction)

Although Nangarhar is not yet in a postconflict stage, the economic growth and stabilization of the areas around the capital are critical first steps toward helping the rest of the province. The Nangarhar Industrial Park will cover 2.77 square miles and house hundreds of businesses. With a space for Nangarharis and other regional businesspeople to operate within Afghanistan's borders, the population will reap the economic benefits of processing their own country's raw materials. Additionally, a park this size in Nangarhar will provide many much-needed jobs for the population.

The government, with World Bank funding, will provide the infrastructure for the park, including paved roads, protection walls, water and sewage systems, independent power supply (both generation and distribution), and daily maintenance of public roads, internal streets, common areas, and parking lots.[52] Once the basic infrastructure is in, the business owners will construct their facilities inside the park.

Types of Activities

Civil COIN activities for the second Nangarhar focus area under consideration in our study are as follows:

- *Build or repair nodes:* The businesses are responsible for constructing their own facilities; however, the perimeter wall surrounding the 2.77-square-mile facility, guard stations, and management

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[52] This information is based on what is currently offered at other industrial parks managed in the country by the Afghanistan Investment Support Agency.

offices will need to be constructed before private businesses can move in.

- *Build or repair connectors:* The park will need to have a myriad of roads, power distribution lines, and water distribution lines to service each business.
- *Deliver goods:* The construction of connectors and nodes of this scale will require a sustained delivery of all kinds of goods over a long period. In addition to basic construction equipment and supplies, a number of large-ticket items, such as distribution wire, pipes, and generators capable of producing the required 15–20 megawatts of power, will need to be transported to the park.
- *Provide technical assistance:* Different aspects of park construction will be undertaken at different times, and the more complex tasks, especially power generation and distribution, may require specific technical expertise brought in for that component.

Implementation Approaches

Build or Repair Nodes: Distributed or Mobile. Security of the site is critically important from the outset, so the construction of security nodes is best done using a distributed model, thereby allowing the construction company's security and technical staff to live on site until the facility is ready to be delivered to the park's security personnel. The construction of management offices and the surrounding wall can use either a distributed or mobile model. The construction equipment should use the distributed approach, because leaving equipment on site is easier than transporting it, assuming security is adequate. Those involved with construction could use either approach successfully.

Build or Repair Connectors: Distributed or Mobile. Because the connectors will be constructed inside a node, the implementation can either occur with the implementer living on the land for the industrial park while it is constructed or commuting from a nearby town or village. Either approach will work successfully in Nangarhar.

Deliver Goods: Distributed or Mobile. Most goods required for industrial park infrastructure construction are large, long-life goods, such as equipment. It is unlikely that they will be found in the local community; in addition, they are too large to easily "pick up" and may

only be needed temporarily. Therefore, a mobile approach is the only option. Of particular importance will be *how* the mobile model will work for the large-ticket items, such as generators. We assume for the purposes of our analysis that they will be shipped to Karachi, offloaded, and put on trucks destined for Nangarhar. That much ground transportation, especially through the FATA and eastern Nangarhar, could be a security liability. Another option is to fly any large-ticket items possible to Jalalabad Airport, which has been taken over by U.S. forces and is therefore secure. The road option would require a 75-kilometer drive from the border, whereas the air option would require a 20-kilometer drive from the airport to the park. For short- and long-life small goods, such as food for workers and shovels or picks, a distributed approach is preferred because resources may be available in villages and shops close to the construction.

Provide Technical Assistance: Distributed, Mobile, or Distance. Using a distributed approach, the person or team providing technical assistance would live in or very near the industrial park. Using a mobile approach, the person or team providing assistance would be based in one location (probably the capital, Jalalabad) and travel to and from the site on a daily basis. Using a distance approach, the person or team providing technical assistance would be based far away from the construction team and would provide information via telephone or the Internet.

Implementers

An industrial park is a public-private partnership, but the foundation is completely public, so the implementing partner, when possible, should be an indigenous civil organization. Providing lucrative construction contracts to foreign organizations could undermine the government's legitimacy and frustrate a population that already believes too many foreign entities are making money off the Afghans. The challenge is to find Afghan companies with the capabilities to do some of the more complex work.

Build or Repair Connectors: Indigenous or Foreign Civil Organization. As in all other cases, the preference is to provide construction contracts to local organizations due to perceived disparity and the need to invest in local businesses. In the case of an industrial park,

there are many local civil organizations that could easily do this work successfully.

Build or Repair Nodes: Indigenous or Foreign Civil Organization. As with connectors, the same principle applies.

Deliver Goods: Indigenous Civil Organization, Indigenous or Foreign Military. Small, short- and long-life goods can be delivered by indigenous civil organizations. Some large, short- and long-life goods can also be procured and delivered locally by an Afghan company. The larger long-life items, such as generators or distribution wire, may require military assistance, depending on the delivery requirements. It may end up being a combination of an Afghan firm delivering the goods and an indigenous or foreign military escort. When possible, it should always be the indigenous military because this arrangement will help build the legitimacy of the government.

Provide Technical Assistance: Indigenous or Foreign Civil Organization. Depending on the complexity of the assistance required, either a local or foreign organization could be called upon to help sort out the issue. When possible, Afghans should be used.

Focus Area 3: Orchard Construction in Shinwari and Khogiani Tribal Areas

Establishing orchards is a complex technical process with a variety of components, including assessment and identification of appropriate villages and farmers, site surveys, plantation design, transporting and planting saplings, and training farmers in orchard management techniques. For the purposes of demonstrating the methodology of this study, we look at only two aspects that have not been addressed in previous focus areas: the transportation and planting of saplings, and training farmers in orchard management techniques.

USAID currently funds the Alternative Livelihood Program in Nangarhar, which includes an orchard-construction component. This focus area is designed to analyze how to extend the existing program into the more dangerous, remote, and vulnerable parts of the province.

Types of Activities

Civil COIN activities for this third Nangarhar focus area under consideration in our study are as follows:

- *Build or repair nodes:* The farmers will need to attend multiple training sessions, and they will need a facility in which they can be trained if one does not already exist.
- *Deliver goods:* The delivery of thousands of large, long-life goods, such as saplings, to a variety of villages during the planting season is a core aspect of this focus area.
- *Train:* Training farmers in all aspects of orchard management is a core aspect of this focus area.

Implementation Approaches

Build or Repair Nodes: Distributed or Mobile. The orchard program calls for a focus on entire villages, not just a handful of farmers, because, in Afghanistan, communities rather than individuals make decisions. Therefore, facilities to train farmers must be available at a village, district, or provincial level, depending on how the implementing partner chooses and is able to train based on distance, security, and the number of participants. If nodes are constructed at a village level, a distributed approach is the best option. This requires the node implementer to meet with the local community and obtain permission to construct a facility in the area. By living in the community, giving the population input into the facility, and hopefully providing jobs, the implementing partner will receive local buy-in and the project will be more readily protected against outside acts of aggression. A mobile approach is an option, but traveling through dangerous areas to a construction site every day creates security risks not associated with the distributed approach. A distributed approach is preferable when constructing in a district center for the same reasons, but it is not as critical as it is in a small village. At the provincial level, either approach is appropriate.

Deliver Goods: Mobile or Central. Using a mobile approach, the implementing partner would deliver saplings to each farmer. Using a central model, the implementing partner would bring the saplings to

a central location in the village and distribute them to each farmer on site. Since, collectively, the saplings are large and long-lived, the challenge of a central implementation approach is a significant inhibitor. Speaking logistically, the best approach is to have each farmer individually receive the orchard's worth of saplings.

Train: Distributed, Mobile, Central, or Distance. Training is one of the few activities that can be done via any approach. Determining the most appropriate approach depends greatly on the type of information being passed. The objective of this study was not to examine the details of information types, but rather to examine trade-offs of the approaches if they are all viable. A distributed approach would involve one-on-one training between two people living in the same village. This approach could be used, for example, when one farmer in a village is taught to be a "lead trainer" and work with other farmers in his community. It is the simplest approach, but it requires training one person with the knowledge to pass along. Using a mobile approach, someone from outside the community would come to the community and provide training to an individual or group. This approach requires travel through dangerous areas to a specific village and places risk on the trainer. A central approach would allow large groups to gather in a district center or provincial capital. Under this method, the risk of travel is shifted to the population. Also, awareness of who is invited and existing tensions between communities must be considered when using this approach. Distance training is conducted via radio, television, or prerecorded DVDs. (The Internet is generally not available.) Radio reception is possible through Jalalabad-based stations, and most families have hand-cranked radios, so this is the most practical version of distance training in Nangarhar.

Implementers

Build or Repair Nodes: Indigenous or Foreign Civil Organization. As with all other cases, the preference is to grant construction contracts to local organizations due to perceived disparity and the need to invest in local businesses. In the case of orchard construction, there are many local civil organizations that could easily do this work successfully.

Deliver Goods: Indigenous or Foreign Civil Organization, Indigenous or Foreign Military. Small, short-life and long-life goods can all be delivered by indigenous civil organizations. Some large, short-life and long-life goods can also be procured and delivered by an Afghan company. The larger long-life items, such as an orchard of saplings, may require military assistance, depending on the delivery requirements. It may end up being a combination of an Afghan firm delivering the goods with an indigenous or foreign military escort. When possible, it should be the indigenous military because it will help build the legitimacy of the government.

Train: Indigenous or Foreign Civil Organization. The Afghan government has many agriculture extension workers in Nangarhar, and if properly trained, the government would be the best option for training the farmers. The next-best option is an indigenous civil organization, if it has the expertise and is available. The third option is to have a foreign civil organization conduct the training.[53] This may be the only option, depending on the complexity of the subject matter.

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[53] Since this document was written, the U.S. Department of Defense has fielded U.S. military agricultural assistance teams composed of U.S. soldiers in Afghanistan. Using these teams would contribute the least to establishing the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of the Afghan government.

Nord-Kivu Case Study

Process 1: Assess Operating Environment

Background

The land now known as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, or DRC, has seen multiple incarnations over the past 125 years as the Congo Free State, the Belgian Congo, and Zaire before being renamed the DRC in 1997. Throughout, the country has been the site of almost uninterrupted internal conflict, or proxy warfare between imperial powers or neighboring states.[1]

Infamous as the setting for *Heart of Darkness*,[2] the DRC is a textbook case of a failed state in terms of corruption, ethnic tensions, persistent conflict, abusive security forces, and abject poverty. This environment has both fostered and been perpetuated by a vicious cycle of insurgency. The most recent conflict—which began in the mid-1990s—has claimed an estimated 4 million civilian lives, making it the deadliest conflict since World War II.[3] Despite the official end of the civil war in 2003 and credible elections with more than 70-percent voter turnout,[4] violence persists in the DRC, particularly in

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[1] Since this document was written, Laurent Nkunda was captured and factions of his rebel group have aligned with the Congolese government. This chapter reflects the reality at the time it was written, when Nkunda was still at large.

[2] Joseph Conrad's 1899 classic novel on colonialism in Africa, in which the Congo was depicted as the most savage place in the world.

[3] Freedom House, 2007.

[4] Freedom House, 2007.

Nord-Kivu, where violence between Laurent Nkunda's Tutsi insurgent group and the Congolese army has displaced more than 370,000 civilians since fighting resumed in December 2006.[5] Situated in the northeast part of the DRC, Nord-Kivu (also called North Kivu) borders Uganda and Rwanda. (See Figure 5.1.)

General History

Congo's colonial period in the 19th and 20th centuries was marked by nearly unparalleled cruelty and exploitation. Belgian colonizers promoted the migration of Banyarwandans (a term applying to both Hutus

Figure 5.1
Map of the Democratic Republic of the Congo

SOURCE: United Nations Cartographic Section.
RAND *MG870/1-5.1*

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5   International Crisis Group, 2007.

and Tutsis from Rwanda) to Nord-Kivu, both to alleviate land short-ages and famine in Rwanda and to provide labor for agricultural activities in Nord-Kivu.[6] The favoritism that the Belgian colonizers displayed toward the Banyarwandans heightened ethnic tensions in Nord-Kivu, which were further exacerbated by Mobutu Sese Seko's kleptocratic reign after the country gained independence in 1960. Mobutu's "divide-and-rule" strategy whereby he favored certain ethnic groups (though not always the same ones) escalated ethnic tensions—and particularly tensions between the "indigenous" population groups and the Banyarwandans. Among Hutu and Tutsi Banyarwandans in Nord-Kivu, tensions were ignited during the Rwandan conflict when, in 1994, Rwandan Hutu extremists initiated the genocide of Tutsis and moderate Hutus. Millions of Rwandan refugees fled to the DRC. Among them were perpetrators of the genocide, who united with Hutu militia members in the DRC and with Mobutu's army to attack local communities and Tutsis perceived as supportive of the (Tutsi) Rwandan Patriotic Front that was seizing power in the Rwandan capital of Kigali. Local militias, known as Mai-Mai, formed in the DRC to protect themselves; however, others formed under the pretense of protection but aimed primarily to loot.

Laurent Kabila led the Tutsi militia Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo-Zaïre, or the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire, to defend against these attacks and ultimately overthrew Mobutu in May 1997. But Kabila himself failed to adequately respond to the challenges facing the DRC, and over subsequent years, Rwanda, Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Chad, Sudan, and Burundi all intervened in the DRC, backing either the government or rebel forces. When Laurent Kabila was assassinated in January 2001, his son Joseph Kabila took power.[7] In 2002, the support of the Nande splinter group of the Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD) enabled the Kabila government to improve its position in Nord-Kivu, spurring heightened violence due to perceived favoritism

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[6] This migration flow was not uncommon prior to colonization; however, it was heightened under the colonial administration.

[7] International Crisis Group, 2007.

by the government and the Nande population. Although Joseph Kabila succeeded in getting the warring parties to sign the Sun City Peace Agreement in December 2002, Nkunda led a revolt claiming to be the protector of minority Banyamulenge Tutsis from attacks carried out by the rest of the population.

The DRC has the largest—and most expensive—peacekeeping mission in the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, with more than 20,000 members, including 16,000 soldiers and an annual budget exceeding $1 billion.[8] Its mandate has evolved from enforcing the cease-fire to disarmament, demobilization, repatriation, resettlement, and reintegration and facilitating credible elections.[9]

Regional and Neighborhood Issues

As is clear from the general history of Nord-Kivu, regional issues play a central role. The tensions in the larger Great Lakes region—and particularly in Rwanda, Burundi, and Uganda—affect and are affected by the ethnic tensions in Nord-Kivu. The flow of immigrants from Rwanda lies at the heart of many regional tensions and particularly affects Nord-Kivu, whose population, like that of Rwanda, includes Hutus and Tutsis. Neighboring states have played an active role in the DRC's history by backing various rebel groups vying for power. The Rwandan government first supported and then opposed President Kabila after he made efforts to eject all foreign forces. Instead, the Rwandan Tutsi government switched its backing to the militant RCD based in Nord-Kivu. Angola, Chad, Namibia, Sudan, and Zimbabwe all provided support to Kabila. Uganda has sent troops to the DRC, allegedly to eliminate bases of rebels who supported the Allied Democratic Front, a Sudan-backed Muslim guerrilla group composed of former members of the Rwandan and DRC armies, the Muslim militia Salaf Tabliq, and Ugandan rebels. In addition, the Ugandan rebel group Lord's Resistance Army also maintained bases in Garamaba National Park in northeastern DRC. More recently, one-time allies

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[8] United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, undated(b), undated(a).

[9] United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, undated(a).

Uganda and Rwanda have been using DRC territory to wage proxy warfare against each other.[10]

Internal Geography

Covering an area of 905,567 square miles, the DRC is geographically the third-largest country in Africa. Its terrain is difficult to traverse, with large sections of jungle and mountainous terrain and high levels of precipitation, with few roads.

Nord-Kivu is one of 26 relatively autonomous provinces in the country, established by the 2005 constitution. Within Nord-Kivu, there are five territories (Beni, Lubero, Masisi, Rutshuru, and Walikale) and three main cities (Goma, Butemba, and Beni), with Goma as the provincial capital. Nord-Kivu borders the DCR's Ituri, Tshopo, Maniema, and Sud-Kivu provinces, as well as Uganda and Rwanda to the northwest. Indeed, Nord-Kivu is geographically closer to Kampala and Kigali than it is to the DRC capital Kinshasa, and this proximity is reflected in the trading relations between Nord-Kivu and the Ugandan and Rwandan capitals. Nord-Kivu also borders two lakes—Lake Edwards and Lake Kivu—and includes Virunga National Park. (See Figure 5.2.) This region features fertile land that is excellent for both farming and pasturing, as well as mineral-rich forests.

Culture

The DRC is home to more than 200 different ethnic and linguistic groups; however, Nord-Kivu's 4 million inhabitants are predominantly Nande (approximately 50 percent) and Hutu (approximately 30 percent). The remaining 20 percent of the population is primarily Hunde, Nyanga, or Tutsi.[11]

Nord-Kivu is a predominantly agrarian society, and the bulk of subsistence farming is done by women. Women have traditionally had limited social and political power. There are still discriminatory laws

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[10] "Uganda Accuses Rwanda of Waging Proxy War in DR Congo," 2003.

[11] International Crisis Group, 2007.

against women, and the DRC ranks among the world's five worst conflict zones in which to be a woman or a child.[12]

Figure 5.2
Map of Nord-Kivu
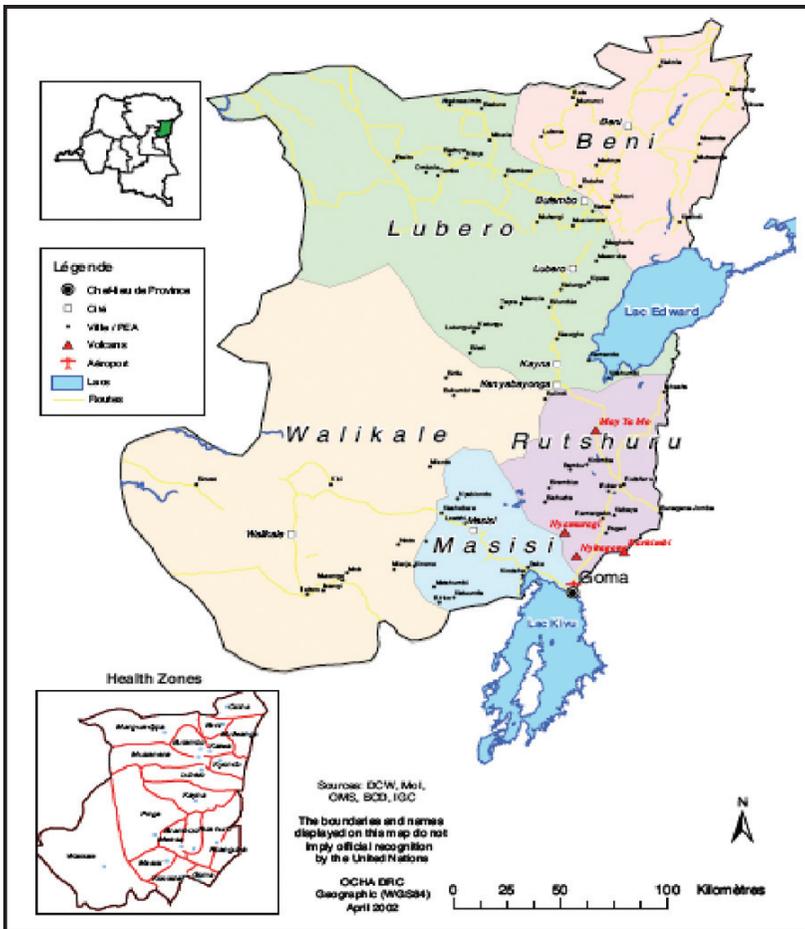
SOURCE: International Crisis Group, 2007.
RAND *MG870/1-5.2*

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[12] See Minorities at Risk Project, 2006.

Context Analysis

In view of the DRC's long history of conflict, it comes as little sur- prise that in 2008, the country ranked sixth on the Fund for Peace Failed States Index,[13] illustrating the depth of its social, economic, and political grievances. The World Bank's Governance Indicators for the DRC between 1996 and 2008 show that, since 1997, the country has remained below the lowest tenth percentile rank for political stabil- ity and absence of violence, government effectiveness, rule of law, and control of corruption.[14] Nord-Kivu itself was the center of the Second Congo War (1998–2003) and the Kivu Conflict (2003–present).

Social Indicators

Nord-Kivu has a long history of massive immigration flows, and areas such as Masisi have particularly high population densities. In addition, there are an estimated 800,000 IDPs and more than 300,000 refugees in Nord-Kivu. The persistent violence continues to displace the local population, and more than 200,000 Congolese are estimated to have left their homes since August 2007.[15] The conflict and mass popula- tion movements have created a complex emergency and left a strong legacy of group grievances and ethnic tensions. More than 10 percent of the deaths in eastern DRC are related to malnutrition, and less than 70 percent of eligible children are enrolled in primary school.[16]

Economic Indicators

Both the Nande and the Tutsis enjoyed periods of greater economic opportunity and land access in Nord-Kivu, compared to other ethnic groups. The initial allocation of a significant portion of the land to Banyarwandans by Mobutu in 1972 and his subsequent seizure of it in 1983 have left a strong legacy of uneven economic development. A crippling economic crisis in the 1970s and the government's conse-

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[13] See Fund for Peace, 2009.

[14] See World Bank, 2009b.

[15] U.S. Agency for International Development, 2008.

[16] IRIN, 2007.

quent liberalization of economic policies deepened the unequal distribution of resources along ethnic lines. Furthermore, the ethnicization of local power resulted in greater economic opportunities for various subgroups (such as Tutsi businessmen in Goma), and there are concerns about the loss of these economic advantages or equitable access to economic opportunities.

Political Indicators

Throughout Congo's history, the government has manipulated ethnic groups to maintain power. The provincial government in Nord-Kivu has historically shifted from one ethnic group to another, depending on the needs of Kinshasa, and has been a source of controversy. The police force in Nord-Kivu was largely taken over by local militias during the civil war. Corruption is rampant: An estimated 60 to 80 percent of customs revenue has been embezzled, and "a quarter of the national budget was not properly accounted for."[17] In recent history, government services, including security, justice, and health care, were largely met by traditional authorities and local warlords—if provided at all. "The displaced citizens have almost no health services to fall back on, and 1,000 or more die daily as a result."[18] The country's few civil servants are generally not paid on a regular basis; indeed, there are no efficient mechanisms for paying people throughout the country. Even if these obstacles were overcome, many civil servant salaries would still be below the poverty line.[19] The conflict in Nord-Kivu has involved massive human rights violations, often conducted by factions of the military itself. In December 2004, different factions of the Congolese army—part of the Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo (FARDC)—battled each other, with significant targeting of civilians. Often, these attacks appeared ethnically motivated as retribution for supporting an opposing armed group.[20]

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[17] International Crisis Group, 2006a.

[18] International Crisis Group, 2006a, p. i.

[19] International Crisis Group, 2006a, p. ii.

[20] Amnesty International, 2005.

Threat Analysis

In spring 2008, several government and insurgent or rebel groups were operating against the FARDC. Of these, the greatest challenge was posed by the militant forces of Laurent Nkunda's Tutsi Congrès National pour la Défense du Peuple (CNDP) faction, established in 2006. In addition, Mai-Mai factions remain active in the area; however, unlike Nkunda's forces, they are not striving to create parallel political and administrative systems; for this reason, our analysis focuses on Nkunda.

Insurgent Ends

Nkunda's stated goal was the protection of Tutsis, who were historically a target of the Kabila administration. Nkunda refused to integrate his forces into the national army as the government demanded, unless his troops could remain in Nord-Kivu and, particularly, in Tutsi-dominated areas. While he asserted that this was to prevent attacks on Tutsis, remaining in the area also allowed Nkunda to control resources and economic opportunities there.

Insurgent Leaders

Laurent Nkunda was a former FARDC general who briefly commanded the 81st and 83rd Brigades before leading them into rebellion in 2004.[21] During the Rwandan civil war, he joined the Tutsi Rwandan Patriotic Front to fight Hutu government forces. Nkunda went on to support Laurent Kabila's bid to overthrow Mobutu in 1997 and was promoted to general after joining the Transitional Government of the DRC in 2003 as a colonel. In 2004, when Nkunda rebelled against the government on the grounds of defending Tutsi communities in Nord-Kivu, he took many of his troops with him, establishing the CNDP political party in 2006. Nkunda was a self-proclaimed Seventh-Day Adventist pastor who claimed to be guided by religious conviction, but he had been accused of instigating multiple human rights abuses, including recruiting child soldiers.

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[21] McCrummen, 2007.

Insurgent Ways

Nkunda's forces relied primarily on violence, attacked non-Tutsi civilians, and were known for the systematic rape of women.[22] Nkunda's CNDP political party focused primarily on driving foreign-supported armed groups out of the region and returning land to the Congolese Tutsis who were in refugee camps in Rwanda. This permitted him to participate in the political arena while maintaining opposition forces. Nkunda effectively controlled large areas of Masisi and parts of Rutshuru and subverted the provincial government; members of the civil and traditional administration, the police force, and the intelligence services were loyal to him. At the same time, he impeded the work of those who were not loyal through violence and propaganda, which was a major element of his approach. He used the existing schools and radio stations to promote his ideology, which he claimed had roots in religion and human rights. Controlling movement on the limited road network provided him with political and economic advantages. His troops established checkpoints along the roads to collect "taxes" from traders, and he enticed refugees from Rwanda back to parts of Masisi by guaranteeing them access to land near Kitchanga and Kirolirwe, including some parts of Virunga National Park. Local officials in some areas, such as Mbanza-Ngungu, even forced local residents to turn over their homes and land to the party for distribution to returning refugees.[23] These measures permitted Nkunda's forces to directly prevent government officials from operating and served to restrict NGO activities somewhat, due to the risk of being caught in the crossfire.

Insurgent Means

Nkunda had thousands of heavily armed soldiers, which he used to fight the Rwanda Patriotic Front—the Tutsi rebel group that took control of Rwanda in 1994—and then the Rwanda-backed RCD. He initially enjoyed support from the Rwandan government, and there were allegations that he later enjoyed support from Kigali. He controlled

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[22] International Crisis Group, 2007.

[23] Human Rights Watch, 2007.

approximately 1,200 square miles in eastern Congo.[24] Nkunda was able to purchase weapons and finance the insurgency through taxation or control of the cassiterite mines in Nord-Kivu and through tourist dollars for gorilla treks in Virunga National Park.[25]

Although much of the population did not agree with Nkunda's violent tactics, many Tutsis supported this movement out of fear for their safety. Eventually, there was increasing recognition that Nkunda had gained control over parts of the province. In these areas, Nkunda garnered additional supporters. It was clear to civil and customary leaders that there were benefits to aligning with Nkunda, as well as penalties for not doing so.

Insurgency-Related Threats

The instability in Nord-Kivu allowed Mai-Mai groups to gain control over economic resources, with cassiterite being a primary example. As of this writing, the rebel 85th Brigade, commanded by Colonel Sammy Matumo, controlled the cassiterite mine in Bisie in southeast Nord-Kivu.[26] A peace agreement forged in January 2008 primarily between the government and Nkunda's forces was also signed by a variety of other Mai-Mai groups that were active in the province. In addition, remnants of the RCD-Kisangani/Mouvement de Libération, a breakaway group from the Tutsi RCD and founded by Ernest Wamba dia Wamba in 1999 with Ugandan backing, maintain a presence, as does Nkunda's declared enemy, the Rwandan rebel group Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda.[27] These warlords and their followers are disruptive and attack, bribe, and threaten local citizens.

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[24] "The Killing Fields: Africa's Misery, the World's Shame," transcript, CNN, October 8, 2006.

[25] Bavier, 2008; de Merode, 2008.

[26] Garrett and Mitchell, 2008.

[27] A copy of this "Acte d'Engagement" is available in French online (see BBC, 2008).

Outcome 1: Civil COIN Focus Area

There are multiple potential focus areas for civil COIN measures in Nord-Kivu; however, for the purposes of demonstrating the application of the analytic framework, we have selected three illustrative focus areas of particular importance.[28] Each of these focus areas relates to either a motivation for the insurgency or an opportunity for insurgents or counterinsurgents. Most notably, each of these focus areas has been co-opted by the insurgents, which puts future progress at risk of being targeted or co-opted by insurgent forces.

First, land arbitration: Based on the assessment of the operating environment, it is clear that land tenure has been one of the principal causes of the conflict as well as a key area affected by the conflict. Land rights are integrally linked with government legitimacy, and abuses of power with regard to land—particularly the use of land for individual profit by local leaders and government officials—was detrimental to the legitimacy of the Congolese government.[29] The dual system of land rights established under colonial rule and the changing citizenship status of Tutsis under Mobutu have resulted in confusion over who owns land. There is a need for land arbitration to settle ownership disputes.

Second, primary education: The large numbers of young men who are not in school provide a large pool of potential recruits for Nkunda. Those who are in school are subject to Nkunda information campaigns carried out by "School Committees of Social Integration." Providing primary education with a curriculum that supports legitimate and effective governance will reduce this opportunity for the insurgents.

Third, roads: The lack of roads simplified Nkunda's efforts to control the population and extort commercial interests, and it continues to hinder the government's ability to fight the insurgents and provide public services. Building and repairing the roads will also provide a

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[28] Although these focus areas are of clear importance in establishing the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of the governance system, we make no claim that these three should be the top priorities.

[29] Vlassenroot and Huggins, 2005.

tangible indication of the government's effectiveness and will facilitate economic activities.

Next, we examine each of these focus areas in greater detail.

Process and Outcome 2: Assess Focus Areas and Related Civil COIN Measures

Focus Area 1: Land Arbitration

There is very little activity in terms of land arbitration in Nord-Kivu. What is undertaken by respected community members and traditional leaders is sporadic, has unclear jurisdiction, and is not connected with formal governance structures. There are essentially no courthouses or community centers in the province. Although UN-HABITAT, the United Nations Human Settlements Programme, will be working in the province, its planned activities have not been specified. It is expected that a very large number of land rights cases will be spread throughout the province. Furthermore, the target population is not concentrated in urban centers.

Land arbitration needs to be based on established law and policy, conducted by officials who are, and are seen to be, fair and unbiased. It should also be conducted in places that are accessible to the parties involved in the dispute, as well as securable. In addition, decisions reached in the arbitration process need to be enforced. For the purposes of this analysis, we focus on the arbitration process only. To the extent possible, arbitrators should be respected local leaders who are unbiased. This may prove challenging, and an arbitration committee may be a more appropriate approach than selecting a sole arbitrator.

Types of Activities

In all cases, there will be activities that the government will need to perform for the arbitration effort to take place. Depending on the delivery approach adopted, these activities could be more or less intensive. Based on the network model discussed in Chapter Three, we identified

the following principal civil COIN activities for this first Nord-Kivu focus area:

- *Build or repair nodes:* The establishment of arbitration centers where suitable buildings do not already exist will enable more effective arbitration and protection from the elements. Note that this would be needed only in those locations where (1) arbitration was to take place and (2) no suitable location already existed.
- *Deliver goods:* Arbitrators will need office furniture and supplies to more effectively carry out their activities. The supplies required for arbitration include small, long-life items (e.g., arbitration manuals and codes); small, short-life items (e.g., stationery); and large, long-life items (e.g., desks).
- *Deliver services:* The arbitrators will need to meet with community members to resolve land disputes.
- *Train:* Given the lack of arbitration expertise in the DRC, an essential activity is to train arbitrators in communication techniques and criteria for settling land disputes. The training requirements would not vary significantly among the various arbitration implementation approaches. For example, there will likely be a similar number of arbitrators required for each implementation approach, as the caseload is likely to be similar.
- *Hold meetings:* Successful arbitration will also entail providing community members with information about their rights and the land arbitration process.

Implementation Approaches

We identified three principal approaches for conducting land arbitration. The fourth approach (distance) is not feasible.

Build or Repair Nodes: Distributed, Mobile, or Central. In the distributed approach, an arbitration center would need to be established in each of the major cities that currently lack an appropriate building. The mobile approach would likely also require an office for general operations and data storage. In the centralized option, under which all arbitration would take place in Goma, existing government buildings would almost certainly be available and so no building effort

would be needed (though some repair or modification might be). An arbitration center could be built through either a distributed approach (i.e., construction workers remain on site) or a mobile approach (i.e., construction workers regularly travel to the site).

Deliver Goods: Distributed, Mobile, or Central. If arbitration services are provided in each city (distributed), goods will need to be distributed accordingly. If the arbitration uses a mobile approach, goods would need to be distributed to the base office of each mobile team and then transported with the team. If the arbitration services are provided in Goma (central), goods could likely be purchased in that city.

Deliver Services: Distributed, Mobile, Central, or Distance. The distributed approach would involve arbitration centers and officials located in proximity to the people. While it would be prohibitively expensive and waste much time and effort to place these centers and officials in every small village, our assessment is that locating them in the eight cities in Nord-Kivu would provide good access at a reasonable level of effort.

A mobile approach would base the arbitrators in the eight cities in Nord-Kivu, and they would travel to the various villages. This would bring the arbitration services closer to the relevant populations at a more reasonable cost than having permanent arbitration centers in each village.

A central approach would entail a provincial arbitration center in Goma, which would require significantly fewer resources in terms of infrastructure. The central approach requires only slightly fewer arbitrators because it might result in fewer cases due to the travel burden on beneficiaries and more efficient case management (e.g., discrepancies between case volumes in each city could be smoothed out with a central arbitration team).

The provision of arbitration services via distance would be minimally effective given the rudimentary infrastructure and communication network in Nord-Kivu. In addition, arbitration is an activity that depends on interpersonal communication, which is not well suited for a distance model.

Train: Central. Given the relatively small number of trainees, a central approach to training would likely be the most efficient.

Hold Meetings: Mobile. Regardless of the implementation approach, it is important to hold meetings throughout the province to provide information to the largest number of potential beneficiaries. This lends itself to a mobile approach.

Implementers

Build or Repair Nodes: Indigenous or Foreign Civil Organization. Congolese and international construction companies that operate in Nord-Kivu could perform this job. Although foreign companies may be more likely to deliver the project on time, they tend to have higher overhead costs. Using Congolese companies would support economic development in the province.

Deliver Goods: Indigenous or Foreign Civil Organization. Many needed supplies are available in the DRC and could be delivered by indigenous actors. In some areas, civil organizations can better deliver goods because their vehicles are targeted less often than those of government officials.

Deliver Services: Indigenous Civil Organization. Arbitration should not be conducted by external actors or by the military. Neither the indigenous government nor civil organizations currently have the capacity to conduct arbitration. They require financial support and training from external actors. Once trained, an even-handed process run by the indigenous government would maximize government effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach, but also may foster a level of distrust among the population and could make the activities a target for insurgents. Counterinsurgents would need to control for these negative effects.

Train: Foreign Civil Organization. The Congolese do not have the skills necessary to conduct this training.

Hold Meetings: Indigenous or Foreign Civil Organization. To the extent that indigenous actors will be conducting arbitration services, these same actors can hold meetings to inform the population of their activities. In contexts in which the indigenous actors may be perceived as biased, an initial meeting held by an independent foreign organization may be necessary to pave the way for indigenous engagement.

Focus Area 2: Primary Education

As noted earlier, more than two-thirds of school-age children are not in primary school. This is likely due to a combination of factors, including inadequate infrastructure, a lack of trained teachers, teacher absenteeism because of low pay or unpaid salaries, child soldiers, and the need for children to contribute to household activities. Several efforts are under way to improve the status of the primary education system in Nord-Kivu, including some school construction, delivery of kits of school supplies, and teacher training. Most of these activities focus on addressing the needs of IDPs.[30]

Effective primary education needs to be based on an appropriate curriculum that is taught by adequately trained instructors in an environment that is conducive to learning (e.g., protected from the elements and with appropriate supplies) and easily accessed by local children.

Types of Activities

In all cases, the government will have to play a role in reforming the primary education system. Depending on the delivery approach adopted, this role could be more or less intensive. For the second Nord-Kivu focus area, we identified the following principal civil COIN activities:

- *Build or repair nodes:* Building or repairing schools where the infrastructure is inadequate will foster a better learning environment for students. To the extent that schools already exist, this activity may be unnecessary or only entail rehabilitation. The distributed and mobile approaches would require schools in each village, whereas the central approach would entail a school in each city.
- *Deliver goods:* Education requires large, long-life items (e.g., desks and blackboards); small, long-life items (e.g., textbooks); and small, short-life items (e.g., chalk). Most of these items would be available in Goma but not in other cities throughout the province.
- *Deliver services:* Teaching is the service to be provided.

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[30] United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 2008.

- *Train:* There is a need to train teachers in terms of the curriculum, effective teaching methods and strategies, and means of integrating civic education into their instruction.

Implementation Approaches

Build or Repair Nodes: Distributed or Mobile. As discussed earlier, building or repairing a node in this focus area entails a distributed or mobile approach.

Deliver Goods: Distributed, Mobile, or Central. Large items will need to be delivered to the schools directly (distributed). The small items could be either delivered to the schools (distributed or mobile) or picked up by the instructors at a central location (central).

Deliver Services: Distributed, Mobile, or Central. There are three principal approaches to providing basic education: in each village (distributed), through traveling education teams (mobile), or by having children travel to a town (central). Given that the province's school-age children are not in one central location, and that daily travel to a central location would be arduous or impractical, a central approach ranks low in terms of effectiveness and feasibility. A mobile approach would be more effective because it would likely reach a wider range of children, but it would be less effective than a distributed approach. Primary education is something that cannot be implemented effectively in any way but through regular, personal contact between teacher and students.

For primary education, bringing the service to the students (distributed) would entail instruction in each village and IDP or refugee camp. Since primary education is an ongoing activity, this is the most effective implementation approach. A mobile approach would have the teachers based in a location that would enable them to travel to multiple villages to teach. Since education services need to be provided regularly—once a week at a minimum—each mobile team could service only six villages in a six-day workweek. Alternatively, each village could receive two half-days of instruction per week and thus be visited by a mobile team twice per week. A central approach would entail having primary schools in each city, with children traveling to them. A central approach would exclude some students—particularly those

who were farthest from the central locations. One option for addressing this would be to provide transportation for the children. In all but extraordinary circumstances, this approach would not be worth pursuing. A distance approach is not feasible given the infrastructure and communication network limitations in Nord-Kivu.

Train: Central. Given the relatively small number of trainees, a central approach to training would likely be the most efficient.

Implementers

Build or Repair Nodes: Indigenous or Foreign Civil Organization. Congolese and international construction companies that operate in Nord-Kivu could perform this job. Although foreign companies may be more likely to deliver the project on time, they tend to have higher overhead costs. Using Congolese companies would also support the local economy.

Deliver Goods: Indigenous or Foreign Civil Organization. Many of the necessary school supplies are available in the DRC and could be delivered by indigenous actors. In some areas, civil organizations can more easily deliver goods because their vehicles are less often targeted than those of government officials.

Deliver Services: Indigenous Civil Organization. Providing education is a core government function and thus should be provided by the government to the extent possible. Indigenous civil organizations may need to augment the government's activities if civil servant salaries are not being paid. However, they should be integrated into the government system.

Train: Indigenous or Foreign Civil Organization. There is some capacity in the DRC's ministry of education to provide training for teachers. Supplementary training may also be conducted by indigenous or foreign civil organizations.

Focus Area 3: Roads

The road network in Nord-Kivu is minimal. Although most towns are connected to a nearby city and, ultimately, to Goma, the roads are gen-

erally in bad shape. The main road in Nord-Kivu runs from the north of the province to Goma in the south.[31] Some road repair is being conducted by the United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC). Construction on the Mushaki-Bihambwe road section between Sake and Masisi was slowed because of problems with the equipment, but MONUC hoped to complete the project by the end of April 2008.[32]

Establishing an effective road network requires an assessment of the current status of roads and an understanding of the needs for transporting people and goods. Along with a clear understanding of which areas lack roads and which roads are in disrepair, it is also important to determine the climate and perceived usage to ensure that a given road effectively meets demand and will be operable in the seasons necessary. In addition, serious consideration needs to be given to how the road network will be secured once it is built and the potential opportunities for insurgents to capitalize on the new infrastructure.

Types of Activities

There is generally construction capability in Nord-Kivu, so there is limited need for training or mentoring. However, road construction or repair will likely require the provision of goods and technical assistance. For the third Nord-Kivu focus area, we identified the following principal civil COIN activities:

- *Build or repair connectors:* A road is a connector.
- *Deliver goods:* The goods required for roadwork include small, long-life items (e.g., shovels); small, short-life items (e.g., perishable goods); and large, long-life goods (e.g., construction machinery).
- *Provide technical assistance:* There may be a need to provide technical assistance for using the equipment or in sustainable road construction and repair techniques that will help the road endure all weather conditions. It is likely that there will be multiple con-

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[31] See United Nations Joint Logistics Centre, 2005.

[32] United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 2008.

struction projects under way simultaneously; however, they will not generally require constant technical assistance.

Implementation Approaches

Build or Repair Connectors: Distributed or Mobile. There are two feasible options for building or repairing roads. As discussed in relation to the first focus area of our Nangarhar case study in Chapter Four, construction crews can be based on site where the road construction is occurring (distributed). Since roads are connectors, this would likely require temporary housing that would move as the road construction or rehabilitation progresses. Alternatively, a mobile approach would have crews based in a central location and traveling to the construction site each day. Given that road networks are connectors, this would allow the crew to be based in one location throughout the construction process but would require regular travel.

Deliver Goods: Distributed or Mobile. The small goods can be utilized in a distributed or mobile option, depending on whether they are available in the local communities. The large, long-life goods likely will not be found in the local community, are too large to easily "pick up," and may be needed only temporarily. As a result, delivering large goods for road construction requires a mobile implementation approach whereby the equipment is taken to a construction project from a central location as needed.

Provide Technical Assistance: Mobile. Providing technical assistance from a central location that is removed from the construction site may have limited effectiveness because some topics may be better discussed where they can be demonstrated and where the challenges can be seen. This makes it likely that a mobile approach to technical assistance would be the most effective and feasible.

Implementers

All Three Activities: Indigenous or Foreign Civil Organization. The provincial government currently lacks the capacity to manage large road construction projects, so they must be outsourced. The concerns with regard to implementation approach are consistent for the various types of activities in this focus area. A foreign company may

generate resentment if it does not use local labor; however, there are few Congolese civil companies with the capacity to manage large-scale construction projects. On the other hand, foreign companies tend to have higher overhead, which can significantly increase costs.

Al Anbar Case Study

Process 1: Assess Operating Environment

Background

Al Anbar, located in western Iraq, is the largest of the country's 18 provinces. The area, because of its Sunni majority and porous borders with Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan, became a convenient safe haven for Al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) and its supporters. Until late 2006, AQI had terrorized the civilian population by enforcing strict adherence to sharia law until the Anbar Awakening occurred and local Sunni tribes banded together to reject Al Qaeda. The expansive border of Al Anbar has presented problems for securing Iraq and has made the province a gateway for terrorists and weapons flowing in and refugees flowing out. Security has noticeably improved since the 2007 surge of U.S. forces, followed by the selected turnover of areas to Iraqi control. Nonetheless, as the long-term social and economic ramifications of de-Ba'athification and other policies take effect, Sunni communities in Al Anbar have been some of the hardest hit. With low levels of confidence in the new regime, the province remains highly vulnerable to insurgent threats. Al Anbar was scheduled for turnover to Iraqi control in January 2008. However, the handover was delayed until September 1, 2008.

General History

Al Anbar was originally built on the ruins of Nehardea, a Jewish Babylonian town. Nehardea was initially established as a prison camp and military warehouse by Nebuchadnezzar II in the 6th century BC.

Later known as Massice, the town was renamed Peroz Shapur ("Victorious in Shapur") by the Persian Sassanid ruler Shapur in 244 AD after his army's victory in that region against the Roman Emperor Gordian.[1] In 363 AD, the town was destroyed by the Roman Emperor Julian.[2] It was subsequently rebuilt, and during the Sassanid rule, a small town called Anbar ("warehouse") was established in what is now known as Sglawiya (near Lake Habaniya). From the 6th century AD, it served as a refuge for Arabs, Jews, and Christians fleeing Sassanid rule. During the Umayyad Empire, it became the capital of the region and remained so until the Umayyad were overthrown by the Abbasid dynasty and Baghdad was founded in 762. The Ottomans called the area the Dulaim province, and this name—derived from one of the largest tribes in the area—continued to be the official name of the province into the modern era. In 1976, the province was renamed Al Anbar after the historic town on the Euphrates.

Al Anbar was one of the earliest urbanized areas in the country. In addition to the large cities of Fallujah and Ar Ramadi, its provincial boundaries include smaller cities, such as Anah, Rawah, Hit, and Haditha.

Long after it ceased to be the regional hub of the Umayyad empire, the city of Fallujah in northwestern Al Anbar continued to serve for centuries as a stopping point for caravans traveling west from Baghdad, a "'Charing Cross' of the world's highways."[3] In the last century, when the British assumed control of Iraq from the crumbling Ottoman Empire, Fallujah gained notoriety for its intermittent resistance to British colonialists. Under Saddam Hussein's regime, many prominent government officials came from Al Anbar and, in particular, its major population centers of Fallujah and Ramadi. This area—predominantly Sunni in a Shi'a-majority country—was later identified by coalition forces as a stronghold of the former regime.

Soon after the Iraq invasion in 2003, the province was occupied by U.S. military and coalition partners under Multi-National Force–

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[1]   Yarshater, 1983, p. 125.

[2]   Encylopaedia Britannica, undated.

[3]   Parfit, 1920, p. 141.

West. After a peaceful start to the post-Saddam era, violence quickly flared as the province became the hub of AQI and other Sunni nationalist insurgent groups that were particularly active in Fallujah and Ramadi. Sections of the local populace were drawn into these groups by what they perceived as provocative behavior by U.S. forces. The battles of Fallujah and Ramadi in April 2004 followed by the second battle for Fallujah in November–December 2004 between U.S. forces and Iraqi and foreign insurgents were three of the highest-profile and bloodiest conflicts in post-Saddam Iraq. The subsequent turnaround in the province had much to do with the fact that the U.S. military adopted a new and more cooperative approach toward the Sunni tribes that came to form the much hailed "Awakening" movement.[4]

Regional and Neighborhood Issues

Al Anbar province borders three predominantly Sunni countries: Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan. Sunni tribal connections—both personal and business—have deep roots and cross-border demarcations. In particular, the powerful Al-Duleim tribe in Al Anbar has historically exercised a large measure of control over the Syrian and Jordanian borders with Iraq. Members of Al-Bu Mahal, a branch of the Dulaim tribe, live in Al Qa'im in Al Anbar and also in Syria around Al Bu Kamal across from the Iraqi borders. The tribe does not acknowledge the Syrian-Iraqi border and has been allowed to travel between the two countries without presenting passports.

In the context of the post-2003 conflict, Syria has been the most problematic of Al Anbar's non-Iraqi neighbors. Many of the foreign fighters who enter Iraq have done so across Syria's 375-mile border with the country. Despite Syrian assertions that it is doing everything in its power to prevent foreign fighters from transiting the border,

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[4]   The term comes from the Arabic *sahwa* and can be translated as "awakening," "rennaissance," or "rebirth." *Sahwa* has been applied to many social movements of diverse characteristics across the Middle East. Somewhat ironically, one of the most prominent of these movements was an intellectual trend of Saudi salafism that thrived in the 1980s and was led by Saudi clerics who spoke out against the perceived decadence of the Saudi royal regime and their compliance with the West. The movement is recognized as a source of intellectual inspiration for Al Qaeda's ideology.

this state of affairs has provoked considerable tension between Baghdad and Damascus. However, traffic has been two-way, and many of the estimated 1.4 million to 2 million Iraqi refugees who have fled to Syria since 2003 have done so via Al Anbar. To the west, cross-border trade with Jordan is an important part of the province's economy. The Al Qa'im Free Economic Zone is located in Al Anbar province. It is also close to road and rail networks leading to Turkey, Jordan, and Basra. Al Qa'im is restricted to commercial and service activities.[5]

Internal Geography

The province is 54,000 square miles, approximately the size of North Carolina, and home to 1.5 million people, 95 percent of whom are Sunni (see Figure 6.1).[6] Although Al Anbar province itself is quite large, 95 percent of the population is concentrated within five miles of the Euphrates River, which runs through all (bar one, Ar Rutba) of the province's seven districts, and 80 percent of that population lives in the 45-mile corridor between the provincial capital, Ramadi (roughly 68 miles due west of Baghdad), and Fallujah.[7]

Al Anbar's vast western district of Ar-Rutba occupies more than half of the province and is mostly formed of desert and some arid grassland. It is subject to dramatic seasonal temperature fluctuation and irregular rainfall, making cultivation difficult. However, the district relies heavily on raising sheep, and water is piped through the desert to supply bedouin and their livestock.[8] In Al Anbar, wheat, grains, vegetables, and fodder are staple crops, as are dates.

Culture

The province has a significant Sunni Arab population that is descended from both ancient Arab tribes and migrant tribes from the Arabian

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[5]   See "Anbar Province" in Iraqi National Investment Commission, undated.

[6]   According to Iraq ministry of commerce statistics, there were 1.5 million people registered as residents in 1999 for the purposes of the Oil for Food rationing system. The ministry of planning says that a further 50,000+ residents are not registered in the province.

[7]   Kagan et al., 2008.

[8]   See GlobalSecurity.org, 2005.

Figure 6.1
Map of Al Anbar Province

SOURCE: United Nations Cartographic Section.

Peninsula. In certain areas of Al Anbar, urbanization has diminished the importance of tribal affiliations; however, most of the less urbanized areas still have very strong tribal associations, which are in fact among the most powerful tribal structures found in the country today. Tribes can be characterized roughly according to four geographical areas: (1) Ramadi; (2) Fallujah and Abu Ghraib; (3) the northern cities of Anah, Rawah, Hadith, and Hit; and (4) the remaining vast tribal areas. Most of the tribes in Ramadi and other areas are Qahtani, with origins in Yemen. The Fallujah tribes have developed into more of a large family structure. Almost half the populations of the northern Euphrates river valley towns now live in Baghdad and other major cities in the country and are of Adnani origin. Their culture is very similar, but relations between these people and their alliances are different. The areas to the east and south have a heavy Shammar presence and relations with the Saudis and tribes in Mosul and Tikrit. They are very close to Saudi Arabia and are still on good terms with the royal family there. Those from the western portion of the province have family in both Baghdad and the eastern provinces of Syria.[9]

Al Anbar's citizens are strongly connected to their history and surrounding environment for two reasons. First, tribal or family relations are very powerful and reach beyond the borders of the province and sometimes even the country. Second, history has shown that many of Iraq's senior and former leadership came from Al Anbar province.[10] Al Anbar's citizens possess a keen awareness of national politics due to their historical involvement with the government.[11] Although the majority of Sunnis living in Al Anbar boycotted the elections in 2005 as a statement against the Shi'a leadership, they will not allow this to happen again and have taken an ever-evolving role in the political arena through the Sunni tribal awakening.

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[9] Al-Shahery, 2008.

[10] For example, Abdul Salam Arif was Iraq's president between 1963 and 1966, and Adul Rahman Arif served from 1966 to 1968. In addition, a large number of prime ministers and other cabinet members before and after those two presidents hailed from the province.

[11] Al-Shahery, 2008.

Context Analysis

As of June 2007, Iraq was listed on the Fund for Peace's Failed State Index as the second most unstable country in the world, deteriorating from a fourth-place position in 2006. By 2008, Iraq had risen to fifth place.[12] This improvement should be read cautiously, as the fluctuation reflects the political volatility in that country. Most marginal gains are attributable to policies implemented by nations involved in Iraq rather than to its own capacity. Among Al Anbar's population, confidence in the current government is improving but is by no means high. Nonetheless, since 2006 and the demise of AQI in the region, the populace has greater reason for optimism and hence participation in the political process.

The Essential Task Matrix describes one of the four pillars necessary for postconflict reconstruction as justice and reconciliation. Specifically, in our case study, *access to justice, creating economic opportunities*, and *provision of essential services* have surfaced as key civil COIN focus areas with which to develop a counterinsurgency strategy along clear lines of operation:

> Unless law and order is consolidated quickly and comprehensively, peace will not take hold and the benefits of the coalition victory will be swiftly lost as criminals and corruption swarm into the vacuum. As in Bosnia, everything depends on the establishment of the rule of law: a functioning economy, a free and fair political system, the development of civil society, public confidence in the police and courts.[13]

Social Indicators

De-Ba'athification reform is potentially the most emotional social issue for western Iraq. Legislation necessary to reform and implement certain de-Ba'athification practices involves competing concepts of justice, accountability, reconciliation, and economic compensation. Seven years after the de-Ba'athification policies were implemented, their long-

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[12] Fund for Peace, 2009.

[13] Orr, 2004.

term ramifications, coupled with the disbanding of the security forces, are taking their toll and creating a new economic and social order. Many of the communities that have struggled to produce new leadership are those that were the hardest hit by de-Ba'athification, and this is particularly relevant in Al Anbar. Furthermore, the influence of many former elites has crumbled, creating social instability and security problems in these communities. The public discussion of these issues tends to polarize Iraqis even as many of the proposed changes take place on the ground. The Iraq Study Group emphasized the need for U.S. government support for reintegration of former Ba'athists and Arab nationalists into civic life, and the Bush administration's New Way Forward strategy in Iraq makes de-Ba'athification reform an integral part of the U.S. government's policy.[14]

Economic Indicators

Al Anbar currently does not have a substantial amount to offer economically. Lack of investment (public or otherwise) in agriculture, which generates the province's greatest amount of income and employs 25 percent of its workforce, is causing the industry to deteriorate.

The majority of the province is ungoverned desert and currently does not possess any developed natural resources akin to the huge oil fields in the Kurdish- and Shi'a-dominated areas. However, gas has been discovered in the Akkas region, and both Total and Chevron are bidding for development of a gas field there. In addition, recent geologic studies indicate that exploratory efforts in Iraq's western region could lead to the discovery and extraction of a tremendous amount of oil and natural gas, which would change the balance of power in the economic arena. Al Anbar also sits astride the major trade artery that runs between Baghdad and Syria/Jordan. The Sunni population in Al Anbar is also concerned about lack of oil revenue–sharing laws. However, there is general sharing of oil proceeds on a per capita basis among the provinces.

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[14] Executive Office of the President, 2007.

Political Indicators

Politics in Al Anbar are both volatile and fragile. Many Sunnis boycotted the elections in January 2005 due to fundamental disagreements with the trajectory of political developments as well as threats and violence. As few as 2 percent of Sunni Arabs turned out in Al Anbar province. As a result, the Iraqi Islamic Party, which did participate in 2005, gained disproportionate representation. This was subsequently contested by many of Al Anbar's tribal leaders. With the launch of the surge and cooperation between U.S. forces and Awakening councils, the Sunni tribal leaders have become progressively more active in the political arena, and the local population saw more incentive to vote in the 2008 provincial elections.[15]

Under past regimes Al Anbar province was difficult to govern. However, a mutual agreement was forged between the tribes and the central government to place people from Al Anbar in noteworthy positions in the national government to assist in maintaining control in that region.[16] Fortunately,

> some members of the Anbar Awakening have declared their goal to transition from a security-focused group into a political bloc that represents the tribes of Al-Anbar province. This is an important and positive political development for the Coalition and for the Iraqi government as it signifies that the tribes of Al-Anbar province have decided to buy into the political process.[17]

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[15] The provincial elections were in fact delayed until January 2009. Tribal confederations did significantly increase their representation, but the turnout for the elections still fell short of expectations, reflecting ongoing dissatisfaction with the political process.

[16] From the 1960s until 2000, many Iraqi ministers came from the region. One example is Abdul Rahman al-Bazaz, the only minister from the monarchy era who continued to serve in subsequent regimes. When he retired, his nephew Saadi Ayash Uraym was hired as minister of higher education, and upon his retirement, Saddam Hussein hired Saadi's nephew Abdul Tawab Mullah Hweish as deputy prime minister. Interestingly, he was the only non-Ba'athist and the only high-ranking Iraqi official married to a foreigner.

[17] Ahmed, 2008.

Threat Analysis

According to the Institute for the Study of War's *Iraq Situation Report*,

> Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) is a Sunni insurgent faction commonly referred to as Al-Qaeda in the Land of the Two Rivers or Al-Qaeda in Mesopotamia. AQI's goals are to expel Coalition Forces, topple Iraq's central government and establish an Iraqi caliphate based on Sharia law. It is one of the largest enemy systems in Iraq with as many as 5,000 fighters and twice as many supporters. As of early 2008, 90 percent of the organization is estimated to be Iraqi, but the 10 percent that are foreign dominate the leadership and conduct a preponderance of the suicide attacks. After Jordanian-born Abu Musab al-Zarqawi was killed in a June 2006 airstrike, the organization has been led by Abu Ayyub al-Masri (or Muhajer),[18] an Egyptian with expertise in explosives who had been personally associated with Zarqawi in Afghanistan.[19]

In October 2006, the organization was able to forge an alliance with other insurgent groups under an umbrella title of the Islamic State of Iraq (ISI). The declared goals of the new organization illustrate the Islamic imperial objective of AQI: to recreate the pan-Islamic caliphate across the Middle East. This goal is also reflected in AQI's naming of an *amir al-mu'minin* (commander, or prince, of the faithful) of the ISI, Abu Omar al-Baghdadi. Al-Baghdadi is portrayed as one of the princes of the wider Islamic caliphate, which will be restored to the mujahedin fighters in due course and governed according to the precepts of the first four rightly guided caliphs in Islam.[20] Many observers suspect that al-Baghdadi is a fictional personality, but whatever the case, his

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[18] *Al-muhajir* is the Arabic word for "immigrant." Here, it refers to the fact that he is not a Iraq-born person and travels to participate in jihad.

[19] Kagan et al., 2008.

[20] The concept of the pan-Islamic caliphate is somewhat mythical. Muslim scholars generally agree that after the rule of the first four "rightly guided caliphs" (Abu Bakr, 'Umar bin al-Khattab, 'Uthman bin Affan, and 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib, who collectively ruled from 632 AD to 656 AD) the Empire of Islam (Dar al-Islam) was not governed in accordance with strict Islamic law.

persona remains at the fore of a highly prolific propaganda campaign for the ISI.

AQI is by far the most publicized insurgent group in Iraq, but it is not the only one, nor is it necessarily the one that holds the most sway among the Iraqi population. A plethora of salafi-jihadi, nationalist-jihadi, and former Ba'athist groups comprised a diverse Sunni resistance at the height of the insurgency. As noted, AQI succeeded in attracting a number of insurgent groups to join the ISI in 2006, including Jaish al-Fatihin ("Army of the Conquerors"), Jund al-Sahaba ("Army of the Prophet's Companions"), and Ansar al-Tawhid wa'l-Sunna ("Supporters of Monotheism and the Sunna").[21] Another group, Ansar al-Sunnah, is believed to have maintained some level of coordination with AQI in Al Anbar. At the same time, a number of groups active in the province whose agenda was more Arab nationalist than that of AQI remained aloof from or antagonistic toward AQI. The most prominent of these are the Islamic Army in Iraq and the 1920 Revolution Brigades. Fighting between AQI on the one side and the Islamic Army of Iraq and the 1920 Revolution Brigades on the other erupted in Amariyah in March 2007.[22]

The roots of the 1920 Revolution Brigades and, indeed, of resistance to foreign occupation run deep in Al Anbar. In 1920, a rebellion against British rule led by Sheikh Dhari and Ayatollah Medhi al-Khalisi broke out in the Euphrates valley. A sizable number of British troops were killed by rebels on the outskirts of Fallujah, and the British Army had to use white phosphorus against rebellions in the Kurdish areas and near Fallujah to overcome the resistance. The decisive factor that helped the British troops secure victory in the north was having the Arab tribes in Mosul fight alongside them, providing much-needed manpower and intelligence in those rugged areas. Sheikh Dhari was the only major Sunni tribal leader to side with the Shi'a against the British at the time. Most of the other Sunni tribes took the British side, a decision that later shaped the balance of power in Iraq. Ironically, the grandsons of both Sheikh Dhari and Ayatollah Medhi

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[21] Kohlman, 2006.

[22] Roggio, 2007.

al-Khalisi opposed the U.S. invasion in 2003. In subsequent decades after the 1920 rebellion, both Fallujah and the province's capital (Ramadi) produced some of the Arab nationalists who determined the political destiny of modern Iraq.[23] This "win" that occurred in 1920 produced a nationalist group from which today's 1920 Revolution Brigades has taken its name.

In principle, at the time of this writing, the 1920 Revolutionary Brigades and the Islamic Army of Iraq, along with other groups, remain violently opposed to the U.S. occupation. In practice, however, a large number of tribal entities previously affiliated with some of the nationalist resistance groups have "defected" to join the acclaimed Awakening movement and Sons of Iraq (SOI) groups, backed by the United States, to eject AQI from the province. Relabeling such individuals as staunch U.S. allies is obviously risky when many of them may still be motivated to fight whomever stands between them and their goal of an independent Iraqi state devoid of foreign intervention. In pursuit of this goal, they remain viable as potential threats to the development of a stable and legitimate Iraqi government. However, unlike AQI, whose objectives are non-negotiable and untenable, these nationalist-orientated former resistance leaders represent popular grievances that cannot be ignored if the Iraqi government is to become effective in Al Anbar province. They demonstrate the complexity and fluidity of categorizing friends and enemies and the need for highly adaptive and dynamic political policies.

Since early 2007, Iraqi tribes and U.S. forces have dealt heavy blows to AQI and other Sunni insurgent groups in Al Anbar. Boosted by hefty military reinforcements in the province, U.S. forces negotiated with prominent Anbar tribal leaders who wanted to turn against AQI for their own reasons. Among these leaders was Sheikh Abdul Sattar Abu Risha, whose tribe took the fore in the establishment of the Awakening movement. U.S. forces agreed to withdraw from provincial

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[23] Abedin, 2005.

cities, and in return, the tribal councils proceeded to hunt down AQI operatives and enforce law and order in the province.[24]

By early 2008, the transformation of the province in terms of insurgent activity was startling. AQI appeared to be nonexistent in Al Anbar, and some members of other insurgent groups turned back to the Sahwa movement. That said, it is still too early to factor out the possibility of an AQI resurgence in Al Anbar, which could result from the withdrawal of U.S. forces or the failure of the Iraqi government to incorporate politically disaffected Sunni communities. AQI is extremely resilient, and there are no doubt silent supporters in the community who are ready to support a rebirth if it benefited them.

Insurgent Ends

Insurgents operating in Al Anbar province are principally motivated by political and social (ideology) factors. Politically, AQI continues to attempt to regain a caliphate and build popular support by making U.S. occupiers and Iraqi government officials look incompetent. Additionally, strong social beliefs and ideologies promote sharia law and Islamic religious extremism as the only true accepted belief. AQI made many mistakes in Al Anbar, for example, when it indiscriminately killed or harshly punished Iraqi civilians accused of not following a strict, AQI interpretation of Islamic law. These actions helped give birth to the Awakening movement, which with U.S. backing took on AQI and took back control of Al Anbar. However, AQI has not given up its motivation to gather popular support and regain control in Iraq. "The insurgent group is now reaching out to disaffected Sunni tribal leaders in a bid to win back their support, even as it attacks Sunnis working closely with the Americans," promising that they would not be targeted and that tribal sheikhs' authorities would be respected.[25]

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[24] U.S. forces also subsequently agreed to help the Sahwa councils convince the government to integrate Awakening members into the Iraqi security forces. This has now become a critical issue, as many believe that promises have not been kept. Young Sunni tribal fighters are becoming impatient and can disrupt provincial security as easily as they helped to enforce it.

[25] Paley, 2008.

Insurgent Ways

AQI and its leaders have publicly "softened" their approach in Iraq in an attempt to gain back support of the local population, which is necessary for the group to continue operating in Iraq. "The group's leadership is now jettisoning some of its past tactics to refocus attacks on American troops, Sunnis cooperating closely with U.S. forces, and Iraq's infrastructure."[26] AQI continues to use information operations and the Internet to tell its story and gather support, and it patiently waits on the fringes of Al Anbar to exploit vulnerabilities and fractures between Sunni groups for its own benefit.

Insurgent Means

Despite the Awakening, AQI maintains a presence in Iraq and has a strong global support network willing to provide weapons, money, suicide bombers, and training. It relies heavily on its propaganda machine and its ability to reach worldwide audiences with messages broadcast over the Internet.

Insurgent-Related Threats

There are other threats to stability beyond AQI. With AQI reduced to only small remnants throughout the region and certainly no longer in control of the major cities, thieves and criminals can be found along the open road between Baghdad and Jordan trying to rob travelers and traders if they are not caught by U.S. marines, the SOI, or the Iraq security forces.

In 2006, the World Bank listed Iraq as a country with few corruption controls. Corruption continues to be a motive for groups in Al Anbar and an inhibitor to progress. Many Sunni tribal leaders accuse the Iraqi Islamic Party, which has dominated the provincial council in Al Anbar, of blatant corruption, giving jobs only to its supporters, awarding reconstruction contracts to its members, and misusing provincial funds for its own motives. As stated by Stuart Bowen, Jr., the special inspector general for Iraq reconstruction, in his testimony to Congress in March 2008,

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[26] Paley, 2008.

Corruption in Iraq is a second insurgency because it directly harms the country's economic viability. In very real terms, corruption stymies the construction and maintenance of Iraq's infrastructure, deprives people of goods and services, reduces confidence in public institutions, and potentially aids insurgent groups reportedly funded by graft derived from oil smuggling or embezzlement.[27]

Popular Support and Tolerance

The fall 2008 elections (held in January 2009) brought change to the Sunni voting bloc in the provincial government in Al Anbar and hopefully began to reduce feelings of alienation from the Shi'a government in Baghdad. This factor, combined with resistance of the Shi'a government to fully trust Sunnis and transition more of them into the Iraqi security forces, creates a vulnerable Sunni population in Al Anbar province that is susceptible to accepting money, weapons, and support from terrorists and criminal groups. If the government does not integrate them into the security forces or help them find legitimate employment opportunities, they will become vulnerable to recruitment efforts by insurgents and criminals or re-form their old resistance groups.

Outcome 1: Civil COIN Focus Area

Each focus area selected for this case study addresses either a core grievance or motivation for the insurgency or seeks to diminish an opportunity for insurgents by strengthening counterinsurgent capabilities. Based on the assessment of the operating environment and the improved security situation, Al Anbar province is ready for substantive development initiatives with a higher potential for success. However, in order for the current improved security conditions to be sustained, the population must have reliable access to justice.

The first focus area, therefore, is access to justice. Increased confidence in rule of law and judicial procedures will reduce opportuni-

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27 Bowen, 2008.

ties for the population to be swayed into supporting illegal activities of insurgent and criminal groups alike. Access to justice for Sunnis will also build the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of the government.

The second focus area stems from the economic situation in Al Anbar, which highlights the need for a long-term employment strategy to generate the income necessary for people to support their families. The Sunni decision to back the British in the 1920 revolution set a precedent for Sunni participation in governance and the public sector. This pattern of Sunni reliance on the public payroll was maintained during the Saddam Hussein era. Today, Al Anbar lacks major long-term employment opportunities for now-unemployed Sunnis, as many government jobs have left the province. As a result of the U.S. military temporarily hiring numerous Sons of Iraq members for security augmentation, the many Anbari SOI who will not be transitioned into the permanent Iraqi security forces will be vulnerable to insurgent recruitment. Both IDPs and returning Iraqis will also be more likely to support criminal opportunists and insurgent groups if alternative employment opportunities are not provided.

The third focus area is the provision of essential services, specifically electricity and the associated critical infrastructure required to operate large industrial factories and plants, which provide long-term employment opportunities. Although these are only illustrative examples, it is important to be aware of the critical dependencies and synergies across all focus areas over both the short and long terms.

Next, we examine each of these focus areas in greater detail.

Process and Outcome 2: Assess Focus Areas and Related Civil COIN Measures

Focus Area 1: Provide Access to Justice

Eliminating disparity by providing equal access to justice for all Iraqis will be critical step toward improving the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of the government. As security in Al Anbar has improved significantly, the next major effort must be rebuilding the judiciary system

and establishing a reliable and legitimate rule of law. "The Iraqi justice system—courts, prosecutors, defense attorneys, police investigators, jail for pre-trial confinement, prisons for those convicted of crimes, integrity of public institutions—does not yet exist. Vengeance is the only operative law of the land."[28] The appeals court has historically been centrally located in Baghdad, and, until judicial infrastructure is established and personnel are trained, the majority of the workload will be done there. This is the primary cause of long delays and backlogs of trials and hearings for suspected criminals. Justice is not easily accessible, nor has it been served quickly or fairly in Al Anbar.

Similarly, the majority of judiciary and police appointees are Shi'a and located in Baghdad,[29] further undermining efforts to build trust in the system at the provincial level. Fundamentally, the continued ambiguity in the dividing lines between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government lies behind many of the barriers to rule of law. Al Anbar needs a centrally allocated budget and a judiciary that facilitate the requirements for decentralized justice, and that reform must be fully endorsed by both the central and provincial government in order to succeed. In this sense, the promotion of homegrown leadership and capacity-building in the justice system is the greatest priority for counterinsurgency initiatives, but there are concrete measures that might be taken to promote the emergence of such a structure.[30]

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[28] McCaffrey, 2007.

[29] The police role is intrinsically linked to that of the judiciary. Since this was written, significant progress has been made in Al Anbar's police force. Furthermore, the Provincial Powers Act devolved responsibility for police to provincial governors.

[30] When considering the decisionmaking process outlined here and its treatment of the choice of location, method of delivery, and implementer, it is worthwhile to note what has actually materialized by way of access to justice since the time this case study was completed. In June 2009, the Anbar Judicial Complex project in Ramadi was completed. Funded by the Iraq Relief and Reconstruction Fund, the Iraq Security Forces Fund, and the Iraq Interim Government Fund, it was managed by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and conducted by the ALMCO group, a construction and service company headquartered in Bagdhad that employed local labor (i.e., combined civil-military, local-international implementers). The project cost $21.5 million and took one year to complete. Two former palaces in Ramadi were converted to a criminal courthouse and a court of appeals, respectively. The buildings included investigation offices, bathrooms, and judges' chambers. Another palace was

Types of Activities

For the first Al Anbar focus area, we identified the following principal civil COIN activities:

- *Build or repair nodes:* Establish a rule-of-law complex. The complex would be "a heavily fortified compound to shelter judges and their families and secure the trials of some of the most dangerous suspects. . . . [T]he hope is that a network of legal complexes will be established in other parts of Iraq, starting with the capital of Al Anbar province, Ramadi."[31] This complex would be a justice "node" located in the capital city of Ramadi. Future plans might include construction of secure, slightly smaller satellite complexes in other densely populated areas across the province, such as Fallujah, Haditha, and Hit.
- *Deliver goods:* With either distributed or centrally located rule-of-law complexes, large, long-life (e.g., desks, podiums, beds) and housing shelters for judges and their families, lawyers, legal assistants, prisoners, and witnesses will be required on site. In addition, numerous small items, both short- and long-life (e.g., paper, pens, computers, stenography equipment, videorecording devices) will need to be supplied and stored on site regularly.
- *Deliver services:* The judicial processes (e.g., a hearing) is the service to be delivered.
- *Train:* Iraqi civil servants involved in the judicial process must be inculcated with high professional and ethical standards and given regular training on how unethical and corrupt behavior is contributing to the current legal system's failure. The population does not have sufficient confidence that the judicial system can adequately defend their rights as citizens or provide their protection as witnesses. Many people do not believe that they will be given

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converted into an investigation facility, and a secure guarded accommodation was built for the judges. It also included classrooms and accommodations for students and housing for detainees. The facilities were supplied with an electrical generator, water and sewage treatment plants, and a laundry. For further details, see K. Smith, 2009, and Milks, 2009.

[31] Gordon, 2007.

a fair trial in the Iraqi system, and others claim that a majority of Iraqi detention facilities use torture as a routine practice to force confessions. There are many training requirements for maintaining a skilled and professional workforce in the judicial arena, ranging from technical aspects of the law to ethics.

- *Provide technical assistance:* Technical assistance in the form of legal advice may be necessary for judicial reform.

Implementation Approaches

All four implementation approaches could be used to improve access to justice using the three activities selected here. A distributed, central, or mobile approach, and even to some extent a distance approach, could be used for some training, although there are limitations. Since the vast majority of the population resides in the vicinity of either Fallujah or Ramadi, a central implementation approach might work better in Al Anbar than in many other areas. However, caution should be used so as not to exclude the rural population.

For this activity, there are two distinct sets of considerations: how justice is to be administered and how the requirements to do this are to be met. For example, will there be one court in the provincial capital, Rahmadi (central), or will there be court presence in every midsized city (distributed)? If there are not active courts in midsized cities, will judges travel to them to hear cases (mobile)? Can some aspects of civil law be managed via VTC or the Internet (distance)? For each of these approaches, different requirements for implementation are needed.

Build or Repair Nodes: Distributed or Mobile. The construction of courthouses can entail workers either based at the construction site (distributed) or traveling to and from the site (mobile).

Deliver Goods: Distributed, Central, or Mobile. Some small goods (e.g., office supplies) may be available locally (distributed) or easily secured from a major town (central). Other, larger goods (e.g., building materials, office furniture) may need to be delivered to project sites (mobile).

Deliver Services: Distributed, Central, or Mobile. All actors in the criminal justice process, from judges to witnesses, are often intimidated by terrorists and militant groups, making it difficult to serve

justice and get credible witnesses to appear in court. The rule-of-law complex is designed to "shelter judges and their families and secure the trials of some of the most dangerous suspects."[32] Constructing a justice complex in a central location, such as Ramadi or Fallujah, would allow judges and lawyers to provide fair services to the population from a secure central location and would afford witnesses and prisoners additional protection as well.

Under the distributed approach, satellite justice centers would be placed at the small-city level or in other densely populated areas in the province. Historically, courts (except appeals courts) have been located in every *qadha'* center.[33] For Al Anbar, this means Rutba, Annah, Haditha, Hit, Fallujah, and Abu Ghraib.[34] Satellite centers could be built around the courthouses in these towns and could be reopened and supported. This could bring back a sense of normalcy and proper governance.

It is important to note that all small towns have a police station and within each police station there is an investigative judge who reports on each case to the main court. No interrogations, detentions, or overnight stays in custody should occur without this judge's order. The judges live in the areas in which they work and so are well known to the public and therefore can be subjected to intimidation or corruption.[35] These centers, along with police stations, administrative offices, and army recruiting centers, used to be the symbols of government in the region. Therefore, they constitute additional nodes that may need to be built or repaired.

A distance approach appears to have little to recommend it due to the difficulty of administration. Reliance on VTC or the Internet to provide or supplement justice services may be ineffective in rural

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[32] Gordon, 2007.

[33] The *qadha'* is the administrative unit directly subordinate to the province. Below the *qadha'* is the *nahiya*.

[34] Other towns are the centers of subordinate administrative units, called nahiya, and cases in those towns would be the *qadha'*.

[35] This system has been in place for almost 100 years, and to change it might trigger unwelcome responses from the public.

and tribal areas, where the population is not familiar with such modes of communication and the infrastructure to support it does not exist. Where such efforts are acceptable and practical, assistance with basic legal contracts, wills, weddings, divorces, and minor administrative actions or advice could be facilitated remotely, although the importance of symbolism should be factored in, as well as assessments about whether using such approaches would be viewed as legitimate by the community.

Train: Distributed, Mobile, Central, or Distance. The difficulty with the training effort is the time and supervisory oversight necessary to build a professional and trained staff of judges, lawyers, and legal assistants to operate the centers. In theory, any of the four implementation approaches could be used for training. However, the availability of expert staff able to deliver good training, along with security conditions, may constrain the distributed method. Furthermore, the small number of highly trained professionals—particularly judges and lawyers—argues for a central implementation approach. Under such a method, better instruction and security could be provided with little hardship to the population. For lower-skill personnel, a mobile team of legal experts could rotate through cities, providing training on a regular basis. Finally, remote initial and ongoing professional training would be an option in areas of the province with relatively robust communication infrastructure. It is important to note that the ratio of available teachers to students and the skills required mean that there will need to be different approaches to training specific classes of members of the rule-of-law community. It would be very difficult, for example, to train judges in villages—this can best be done centrally—whereas legal assistants require fewer skills and might best be trained where they live.

Provide Technical Assistance: Mobile or Distance. Technical assistance—legal advice, in this case—could be provided via mobile (e.g., visits by senior judges) or distance (e.g., Internet, phone, VTC) methods.

Implementers

Build or Repair Nodes: Indigenous or Foreign Civil Organization. The actual construction of rule-of-law complexes or other nodes should

be done by Iraqi firms, if possible, but can be done by foreign companies if need be, particularly if they hire local labor. Many local companies can perform the majority of the construction work required. However, a joint venture or partnership with a foreign company could also provide financial backing, project management experience, and procurement assistance.

Deliver Goods: Indigenous or Foreign Civil or Military Organization. While delivery by Iraqi civilian organizations would most benefit the local economy and contribute to the legitimacy of the government, any of these actors could deliver the necessary goods for this activity.

Deliver Services: Indigenous Civil Organization. Access to justice can improve the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of the government only if the human-to-human interaction of the judicial process is facilitated by the indigenous government itself. Trained, unbiased, uncorrupt, and accessible judges, police, and lawyers will increase the support of the population and win its confidence. The presence of a sound judiciary system will enable a legitimate local government to function and help sustain future development initiatives and promote economic growth. Once the rule-of-law complex is constructed, civil servants must lead operations. Justice must be provided by Iraqis to Iraqis in order for the indigenous government to win the support, confidence, and trust of the population.

Train and Provide Technical Assistance: Foreign or Indigenous Civil Organization. The existing rule-of-law capacity in Iraq should be used to create a self-sustaining judiciary; however, foreign civil advisers may be necessary to augment this expertise. The involvement of military actors in rule-of-law activities may be needed in extreme circumstances but could also undermine these efforts.

Focus Area 2: Restore Economic Opportunity

Iraq's future is inextricably linked to oil.[36] Al Anbar should be a major focus for development for two reasons: Security has improved, allow-

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[36] Perry, 2008.

ing ease of travel by nonmilitary actors, and the temporary hiring of local Iraqi males by Multi-National Force–West for security will soon expire, resulting in a flood of workers looking for employment. Because there were not enough uncorrupt and competently trained Iraqi security forces to spread around the province during the Al Anbar Awakening period, the security forces that assumed a majority of additional police responsibilities in Sunni areas were SOI. As of 2008, it was estimated that the SOI comprised about 80,000 Sunni men across Iraq, with a large portion located in Al Anbar.[37]

> The United States is now paying salaries for thousands of tribal fighters—lumped under the rubric "Concerned Local Citizens" [now known as the SOI]—who are providing intelligence to the U.S. military or chasing down AQI fighters. . . . Tribal youths who were once shooting at Americans, or killing Shiites, are now on the U.S. payroll. But everyone is asking: what will happen to those tens of thousands of newly empowered Sunni fighters if al-Qaeda is gone?[38]

This population group needs long-term employment opportunities with backing from the government of Iraq. Timely inclusion of these individuals into the legitimate employment pool will prevent them from becoming easy prey, vulnerable to terrorist manipulation and criminal opportunists, and will improve their support of the indigenous government. Investment in, and the success of, any local business establishment may act as an economic magnet for other businesses. These other businesses are not only those built around services and retail, but other businesses of an independent nature. There is also the phosphates plant in Al Qa'im and the attendant fertilizer industry. This facility was bombed extensively, but it can be rebuilt; all the supporting infrastructure is still in place.

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[37] Ahmed, 2008. Since then, those numbers are believed to have risen by 10,000–20,000.

[38] T. Rubin, 2007.

Types of Activities

For the second Al Anbar focus area, we identified the following principal civil COIN activities:

- *Build or repair nodes:* Building or repairing existing and currently underutilized factories or plants in Al Anbar will provide many Iraqis with legitimate employment. These factories should initially be put back in action with government assistance. The proposal used to illustrate this approach is to modernize an old 1930s-era oil refinery known as K-3 in Al Anbar. "If K-3 can be revived, perhaps with the help of U.S. contractors, it could provide energy and income for Anbar and decrease the alienation many feel toward the central government in Baghdad."[39] This will offer legitimate and respectable job opportunities to the many Iraqis who will be out of work after the SOI are transitioned. For those who are embarrassed by gap-filling work programs to earn money, such as picking up trash, cleaning out sewer ditches, and sweeping streets in front of their tribal peers, these factory jobs can provide alternative options.

- *Build or repair connectors:* Rebuilding an existing refinery requires a steady supply of electricity, fuel, and materials. These critical commodities will need reliable pipelines, such as transmission and distribution lines for crude oil sources from the North and Bajyi and for electricity from Haditha Dam or Baghdad, to fully restore factory operations.

- *Deliver goods:* Reconstruction of the refinery requires large, long-life goods (e.g., construction-type delivery trucks, pipeline sections, refinery equipment, large power generators) and large, short-life goods (e.g., lime, unrefined petroleum, fuel and electricity to power factory operations). Furthermore, all necessary small, long- and short-life needs (e.g., office supplies, paper, computers, desks, safety equipment) will need to be delivered on time and on a reoccurring basis.

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[39] Perry, 2008.

- *Train:* Operations at these factories will require intensive technical, specialty, and safety training. With most of the employee pool having no recent experience, outside specialists will need to spend extended periods on site assisting with day-to-day supervision and operations. Alternatively, individuals could get hands-on experience from similar factories elsewhere in Iraq or even outside the country.
- *Provide technical assistance:* To maintain high productivity levels and sustained employment, on-site technical assistance will need to be available to workers and managers running the daily operations at the refinery. Long-term operation and maintenance procedures need to be implemented from the start.

Implementation Approaches

Build or Repair Nodes and Connectors: Central and Mobile. Building or repairing K-3 in Al Anbar would be done centrally; it is only about 25 miles from population centers in Al Anbar. Ramadi and Fallujah, the main population centers, will provide the majority of the construction and factory workers. Workers coming from the rural areas may choose to live on site temporarily; however, once the factory is in operation, the workforce would commute from their homes in the cities.

Deliver Goods: Mobile. Necessary large, long- and short-life items (e.g., heavy equipment, construction materials, raw products, crude) would come via highway or rail from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Jordan, Syria, or the Kurdish region or by air into Baghdad and would be delivered to the sites. Construction and factory workers from rural areas and some security guards and full-time management personnel may need housing on site during the construction and, later, after the facilities are in operation. This will require sustained delivery of small, short-life items (e.g., food, water, administrative supplies) and one-time delivery of relatively small, long-life items (e.g., beds, televisions, desks, chairs).

Train: Distributed, Mobile, Central, or Distance. Because of the skills and technical specialties required to construct and operate an oil refinery, a combination of training approaches will need to be implemented. Construction and operations will be in one central location,

with on-the-job training conducted on site by imported subject-matter experts (central). Supervisors will need to regularly visit other refineries within and outside the country to view operations and bring back observations to K-3 (distributed or mobile). Updated safety and other employee quality-of-life training can be conducted via VTC or prerecorded DVDs (distance).

Provide Technical Assistance: Central or Distance. Technical assistance required to construct and operate an oil refinery can be brought in for extended periods from nearby countries, as well as from such countries as the United States or the United Kingdom. Some assistance can be rendered remotely via VTC and video camera if the assistance required is routine, non-safety-related, or minimal.

Implementers

Build or Repair Nodes and Connectors: Indigenous or Foreign Civil Organization or Military. Indigenous organizations could perform the majority of the reconstruction; however, recent experience and subject-matter expertise is necessary to successfully build the core elements of a modern refinery, and so the project may require assistance from external organizations (e.g., Saudi Arabian or Western companies, such as BP or ExxonMobile;[40] foreign government agencies; Army Corps of Engineers; or any combination of experienced organizations). This expertise does not currently exist in Iraq because the country's refineries are old.

Deliver Goods: Indigenous or Foreign Civil Organization or Military. Any of the actors could secure and deliver the necessary equipment and supplies.

Train and Provide Technical Assistance: Foreign Civil Organization or Military. Because of the surge of available workers, the indigenous population must provide the majority of the workforce and management, with long- and short-term technical advisers coming from foreign sources until indigenous managers are fully trained. Preferably,

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[40] Chevron and Total have formed a consortium to conduct work in Al Anbar, specifically. They are looking into investment opportunities in the Akkas gas field in addition to any other suitable endeavor, and K-3 appears a likely acceptable candidate.

after a few years, the K-3 oil refinery will be maintained and operated solely by Iraqis.

Focus Area 3: Restore Essential Services: Provision of Reliable Energy

Reliable electricity is key to successfully implementing the second focus area: creating economic opportunities in Al Anbar. Head of the Iraqi National Effort Unification Commission and chief of staff to Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki, Tariq al-Abdallah, summarized this well:

> When the electricity supply is restored, we will be able to operate some of the factories that require electricity. This will lead to employing a large number of unemployed people. Furthermore, we are in the process of maintaining the pipeline for petroleum by-products from Bayji to Al-Anbar to help operate electricity stations and a modern refinery. When the crude oil pipeline starts to operate, it will also help operate a modern refinery, which in turn helps provide petroleum by-products to the people of the governate.[41]

Types of Activities

For the third Al Anbar focus area, we identified the following principal civil COIN activities:

- *Build nodes:* Examples of this type of activity include building a small, local, independent power plant on site at the K-3 oil refinery. Natural gas extracted and delivered in trucks from the Akkas field near the Syrian border, construction of a small solar power plant or wind farm, or importing large power generators are other frequently proposed options for generating electricity. Design and construction of such facilities could occur within 18 months of contract award. If such a facility is created at K-3, construction could occur concurrently with the restoration of the oil refinery.

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[41] Al-Azzuni, 2008.

- *Build connectors:* New and upgraded transmission lines will be required.
- *Train:* Training would be required for indigenous contractors and construction workers unfamiliar with construction of the selected power generation supply and components.
- *Provide technical assistance:* A thorough analysis will need to be performed to select the appropriate energy sources for given areas. Due to high initial investment costs associated with this type of construction and the project's critical interdependency with other efforts (e.g., future operations at the K-3 oil refinery), some projects would probably require a prequalified joint venture energy partner with any Iraqi construction firm. Technical assistance would be required throughout construction, operations, and maintenance, and the Iraqi construction firm should be assisted as needed.

Implementation Approaches

Build or Repair Nodes: Mobile or Central. These are large efforts that are stationary, so a central model is called for, though some aspects could be mobile (e.g., specialty construction and security teams could move in as needed). The location is fairly close to Fallujah and Ramadi, so most of the contractor, site security, and technical staff could live on site or nearby in the cities.

Build or Repair Connectors: Distributed or Mobile. Connectors could be built using either a mobile approach, if construction teams follow the connector, or a distributed approach, if different teams were used to construct portions of the lines that were local to their areas. Some combination of the two approaches may be most practical.

Deliver Goods: Mobile. Similar to rebuilding the oil refinery, construction of a power plant and lines connecting it to its customers will require specialized materials and equipment delivered to the construction site either by roads from neighboring countries or through Baghdad International Airport. Large, long-life items, such as large generators, gas-fired turbines, special photovoltaic panels, or wind turbines, will need to be ordered in advance, secured, and stored on site.

Train: Central or Mobile. Initial training (as well as refresher training during operation) for construction and operations personnel can occur at other locations (mobile) outside the country. Also, site visits can be scheduled for selected workers or staff to visit other power-generation plants operating in conditions and regions similar to Al Anbar or to research laboratories that test new technologies. Experienced trainers can also be brought to the site (central) to train staff and operators on the installed technologies.

Provide Technical Assistance: Central or Distance. Technical assistance required to construct and operate a small independent power plant can be brought in from experienced sources outside of Iraq for an extended or short period. In addition, technical assistance can be provided by product designers and engineers via VTC and video cameras, as required, for solving routine or minor issues.

Implementers

Build or Repair Nodes and Connectors: Indigenous Civil Organization or Military. The technical expertise required to construct an independent power plant to provide electricity for a major factory, such as the K-3 refinery, or a large population requires significant technical skills. There are Iraqi firms with the required skills, and if the work is given to them, it would be most beneficial to civil COIN efforts. If an international partner firm is needed, it should partner with Iraqi firms and have a history of credible experience in joint ventures with indigenous civil organizations. Indigenous and foreign militaries can be useful in providing any necessary security and escort assistance when high-value items are being transported across dangerous territories.

Deliver Goods: Indigenous or Foreign Civil Organization or Military. Any of the actors could deliver the necessary goods.

Train and Provide Technical Assistance: Foreign Civil Organization or Military. To the extent that additional expertise is needed, foreign actors (either civil or military) can assist indigenous actors through training and the provision of technical assistance.

Concluding Remarks

Successful counterinsurgency requires the integration of security and civil COIN to create the conditions in which the population can choose between the government and insurgents, eliminate the grievances that gave rise to the insurgency in the first place, and present the population with choices that are more attractive than what the insurgents can offer. To do this, it is first necessary to understand the history and context of the country and conflict, conduct good analysis of the underlying issues, and design approaches to win. The goal of both the military and civil effort should be to increase the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of the government, as this is central to success in counterinsurgency.

In *Reconstruction Under Fire: Unifying Civil and Military Counterinsurgency*, we presented the overall framework and focused on integrating civil and military COIN to achieve success. However, because we wanted to keep that volume short enough for practitioners and policymakers, we left out the detail of the civil analysis and presented only abbreviated versions of the case studies that motivated much of our research. Here, we have presented the civil methodology in some detail, as well as the case studies.

It is worth noting that civil COIN efforts that are not based on sound analysis of the underlying causes of an insurgency, or that do not aim to increase the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of governance are unlikely to succeed. As such, to implement the suggestions made in our first volume, an approach very much like the one outlined in Chapters Two and Three is needed.

The approach presented there takes the best aspects of existing conflict assessment methodologies and tailors them for counterinsurgency. It then develops a framework for identifying the civil areas of greatest importance with respect to defeating the insurgency by using this tailored methodology. Finally, it assesses them with an approach that we developed based on our extensive experience working in counterinsurgencies and deep knowledge of development and security. This work was done in the context of creating ICONOPS that provide a unique approach to providing both civil COIN and the security measures needed for those efforts.

Why a New Method of Civil COIN Analysis?

Designing effective civil COIN measures entails selecting focus areas based on a clear understanding of the conflict context and drivers. Equally critical is understanding the focus areas so that solutions that will work can be developed and implemented. In addition, the development and security benefits and costs for each type of activity, implementation approach, and implementer should be carefully considered when designing civil COIN activities.

There are several good approaches to analyzing the sources and drivers of conflict, as well as how to develop programs for addressing them. In many cases, these approaches have been created by the development community. The approach presented here adds to these existing resources in two ways. First, none of the existing approaches specifically used a counterinsurgency lens. In particular, civil COIN is closely related to, but in important ways different from, development-based conflict mitigation. The primary focus of civil COIN is the contest between the government and insurgents for the allegiance of the population, not the betterment of the condition of the population generically. Although analysis of an insurgency consists of the same basic elements as a general conflict analysis, the specific emphasis on eliminating the causes for grievances with the government and removing the opportunities for insurgents to prosper present important distinctions that change the way in which decisions are made and

the programs that are implemented. Most importantly, the goals of civil COIN are created and evaluated with respect to their contribution to the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of governance, not solely in their impact on the population.

Second, our approach goes beyond the strategic and operational decisions related to designing a program appropriate for a given conflict context, as is common for existing approaches. Our approach moves from a counterinsurgency-focused assessment to specifically consider the security implications of the manner in which the development activity may be carried out. The tactical aspects of civil COIN pose varying development and security benefits and risks. This level of granularity does not feature predominantly in existing approaches. Thus, our approach combines the best of several analytic approaches, shaped by the research team's considerable practical expertise and studies, to provide a robust approach from the strategic aspects of civil COIN down to the tactical level.

Summary Observations and Analysis

The three cases underscore the importance of government effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach in counterinsurgency. For the people of Nord-Kivu, the DRC government in Kinshasa matters little and does even less.[1] This is because the government, which is not very effective even close to the national capital, has essentially no reach—transport, communication, civil authority, political influence, or economic relevance—in Nord-Kivu. To think that Nord-Kivu's people can be won over, and its insurgents defeated, by extending the authority and improving the services of Kinshasa is to ignore the physical and political geography of one of the world's least developed and most sprawling "nation-states" (to use the term generously). While provincial and district governments in Nord-Kivu are also weak, corrupt, and

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[1] This section is taken, with minor modifications, from Gompert et al., 2009, p. 50, in which we summarized and provided concluding observations about the case studies. It remains what we would like to say about the case studies and the relevance of civil COIN as we conclude this volume.

lacking in popular support, they at least have some potential by virtue of proximity.

Despite all that has happened in Afghanistan since the Soviet invasion of 1979, there is nothing fundamentally new about the relationship between Kabul and the tribes of the "Pashtun Belt" in which Nangarhar lies. Afghan national governments have rarely had much authority over or acceptance among most Pashtuns, and attempts to gain control tend to provoke resistance. Apart from poor transport and communication infrastructure, two factors make national government problematic. First, tribal relationships are deep in the fabric of Afghan politics, and local governments are largely tribal, informally if not formally. Second, Afghans are typically preoccupied with their immediate lives—family well-being, getting farm goods to market, and settling problems with neighbors—partly as a result of a terrain that tends to isolate. Consequently, their allegiances are based mainly on who provides practical help. As U.S. military forces and civilian officials in the province have come to understand, it is the effectiveness and legitimacy of local and district authorities that will prevent people in the towns and farms of Nangarhar from yielding or turning to the Taliban. Reach should be measured not by the long arm of the government in Kabul but by the responsiveness of local, district, and provincial authorities.

Al Anbar province had been the heart of Sunni Iraq's rejection of the country's post-Saddam, Shi'a-dominated national government. Although the performance of the national government leaves much to be desired, especially for Sunnis, the issue is not only one of ineffectiveness but also one of illegitimacy. There are different ways of addressing this problem politically, from turning Iraq into a loose confederation to institutionalizing power-sharing at the national level. For years, U.S. diplomats and commanders have tried to help broker the latter. In any case, civil COIN measures to meet the needs and earn the support of the people of Al Anbar will necessarily be skewed toward local provincial government. Just as the tribal chiefs and political leaders of Al Anbar have been instrumental in opposition to Shi'a elements controlling the national government, they are the key to ensuring that opposition is not violent.

All three cases show how the failings of government can motivate people to tolerate, if not support or join, an insurgency, especially where the reach of governance is weak. In Nord-Kivu, insurgency and other forms of violence can be explained mostly as a matter of opportunity. Government in what was already a backward province suffered badly under the rule and then the collapse of a kleptocratic national regime. The province was invaded by multiple forces from neighboring states and has been pillaged by every force, internal and external. Enrichment, rape, and revenge provide as much motivation for violence as political causes do. Nord-Kivu is as much a case of comprehensive and violent state failure as it is a case of insurgency. But it is no less crucial to conduct civil measures to remedy government weakness and thus lessen the opportunity and propensity for violence—measures that cannot wait for Nord-Kivu as a whole to be made secure.

Nangarhar illustrates how both insurgent motivations and opportunities can result from the lack of government effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach. The Taliban exploit Pashtun dissatisfaction with national, provincial, and district government. Physical and political conditions prevent the province from realizing its productive potential, deepening dependence on growing poppy, facilitated and exploited by the Taliban. And because insurgents depend less on infrastructure than government agencies and forces do, they are at an advantage when infrastructure is as poor as it is in Nangarhar.

In Al Anbar, the postinvasion breakdown in authority, public service, and population security fueled resentment toward a national government that is, in any case, viewed as unrepresentative if not inimical to Sunnis and the Sunni concept of Iraq, enabling insurgents to appeal for support on patriotic and sectarian grounds. The same breakdown allowed insurgents to operate with impunity and to attack official structures and symbols. The Al Anbar insurgency was motivated by opposition to the new national order and occupation by a foreign power and made possible by the weakness of the Iraqi government.

The chosen focus areas in Al Anbar, Nangarhar, and Nord-Kivu also illustrate where, how, and by whom civil COIN measures should be carried out, which affects how to provide security for them. Just as each focus area was chosen—and, in the real world, should be

chosen—according to the counterinsurgency goal of improved government effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach, the manner in which each is carried out should also reflect this goal. Note that this goal is important: While improving the services alone might help, how services are improved will be important to changing this perception. For example, if the government provides services, this would likely have a better effect than if a foreign NGO does so. In this analysis, our goal is success at civil COIN, not maximizing humanitarian assistance. So, we would choose the less effective government provision of service over a more effective foreign NGO if the former contributes more to the civil COIN effort of improving the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of the government. The goal is to improve the counterinsurgency effort, not the delivery of a service. They are related but not identical. In other words, the full set of considerations presented in Chapter Two and illustrated in the case studies is important.

Usually, proximity to the population is critical for the effectiveness and legitimacy of civil structures and activities, such as delivery of services of value to most ordinary inhabitants and creation of opportunities for markets, enterprise, and employment. This suggests a prevalence of decentralized civil COIN measures. At the same time, some civil COIN functions can and should be centralized, such as training those who deliver public services, maintaining equipment for reconstruction, and building institutional capacity for ministries of the state. Additionally, the mobility of people and goods to and from the center and periphery and around the periphery is important, if not essential. While this may seem obvious, it has major implications for the development of ICONOPS (a core element of the first volume of this research), in that securing centralized locations, securing decentralized activities, and securing movement present very different challenges.

Analysis of civil COIN focus areas provides decisionmakers with options for how to address government shortcomings, e.g., centralized, mobile, or decentralized. The method we present is most useful when there are choices, because a key aspect of securing civil COIN is the trade-off between the best approaches from the perspective of improving effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach and how to use limited security resources. For example, roads can be built in essentially one way. From

the standpoint of integrated security and civil planning, the choice boils down to building them or not. The proposed method does not add much to this decision, though identifying roads as a key contributor to the counterinsurgency effort remains important. In contrast, health care can be provided in a variety of ways—decentralized, centralized, or mobile—which provide choices and therefore can benefit more from the concepts suggested here.

Informed by but not limited to the three cases, we identified for each of the exemplary civil COIN focus areas (1) types of civil COIN activities, (2) implementation options for these activities, and (3) likely or preferred implementing actors. Types of activities consist of such commonplace efforts as constructing facilities, training service providers, shipping materials, and delivering services to the people. Implementation approaches are categorized as decentralized, in which the service is located near the recipients; centralized, in which the recipients come to a central location for the service; mobile, in which providers bring a service temporarily to the recipients; and distance, in which information technology is used to provide a service from a remote location. Of course, most activities combine these approaches, with varying emphasis. Each approach has distinct security implications, which are discussed in depth in *Reconstruction Under Fire: Unifying Civil and Military Counterinsurgency*.

Since the goal is to improve the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of the government, the issue of who implements the activity can have a major impact. For example, foreign military forces may be able to provide inoculations to children in a remote village, though this can spotlight the indigenous government's inability to do so and can be exploited by insurgent propaganda. It may be that some function or service is so important and time-sensitive that it must be done by foreign actors, but it would contribute more to the effectiveness, legitimacy, and reach of the government to train indigenous actors to perform the needed function.

Against the backdrop of the three cases, each focus area was analyzed from an operational standpoint for the purpose of better understanding the patterns of civil COIN and thus sheds light on how to provide security. Several generalizations can be made about these

focus-area assessments that bear importantly on securing civil COIN. First, among what would seem to be a representative set of civil COIN endeavors, we find a high reliance on decentralized activities and on movement among locations. In addition, we find that civil COIN tends to involve a combination of indigenous and foreign actors, with the former typically, and preferably, prominent in direct delivery of services and the latter in training, other capacity-building, and technical assistance. Generally speaking, the importance of government legitimacy, in the eyes of the population, argues for a "light footprint" of foreign assistance whenever possible.

Finally, we note that high-priority civil COIN activities can make attractive targets for insurgents, not only because of their importance in the struggle for the people's allegiance but also because they are inherently vulnerable. Their distributed character and reliance on mobility—both of which are crucial for the effectiveness of civil COIN—compound their vulnerability and the challenge of securing them. In other words, given the need to reach out to and provide access for the population, civil COIN—done right—is risky. This confirms our study's premise, articulated in the first volume, that it will take major improvements in the way in which civil COIN is protected to enable it to contribute fully to defeating insurgent threats. These observations, and whatever general patterns appear, will have a major bearing on the task of conducting civil COIN under fire and, specifically, in integrating civil and security elements to create the best effects.

Assessment Techniques

There are a variety of techniques for conducting assessments. Often, an assessment will employ multiple techniques, and the choice of techniques will depend on the availability of information and resources and the feasibility of access.

Community Meetings

A community meeting is a public forum that brings together members of the community. This can be a quick means of understanding the range of the challenges and concerns related to the conflict context or focus area. The effectiveness of the community meeting depends on the attendees. In organizing the meeting, it is important to reach key members of the community and to include marginalized segments of the population. It is equally critical to ensure that a range of viewpoints is encouraged and that loud voices do not drone out the silent minority.

Focus Groups

Focus groups are smaller versions of community meetings. They have the advantage of being able to separate out certain segments of the population that may not express their opinions in a larger community meeting (e.g., refugees, women, religious minorities). Focus groups are more time- and labor-intensive than secondary data analysis or community meetings.

Interviews

The conflict context and focus-area assessments can also incorporate information collected during interviews. Interviews can vary in terms of their level of structure and generally include more open-ended questions. In most insurgent environments, in-person interviews are the most desirable because phone interviews may not be feasible. Interviews can range from expert interviews of key informants to more general interviews of community members. Although generally more time- and labor-intensive than the other techniques described here, interviews have the advantage of ensuring that participants are able to express their opinions outside of any group pressure.

Surveys

A survey is similar to an interview; however, the questions are generally more structured than in an interview. To develop an effective survey instrument, it is important to have a basic understanding of the challenges of the focus area. Whereas focus groups and interviews often provide general insights into the range of challenges and the status of the focus area, surveys can provide more detailed information on the prevalence of these challenges. A survey generally will provide the most specific and thorough assessment of the focus area, but it is the most labor- and time-intensive technique.

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